Normalising Global Neo-liberalism and Workplace Change through Career Management and Development Discourse: A New Zealand Case Study

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my son who, at times, has missed out on his mother. I hope that this work becomes part of the wider debate about career that will secure your future.

Abstract

Critical theorists call for the denaturalisation of complex processes within society that render individuals unconscious to particular forms of power and domination They promote resistance and transformation based on liberatory aspirations for humanity. I have explored the extent to which contemporary career discourse facilitates and entrenches the dominant and powerful interests of multinational corporations and some nations. The contemporary construction of career can be seen as historically embedded in the concomitant discourses of flexibility and global neo-liberalism.

My literature review indicated that much of the contemporary economic, organisational, and career literatures promote global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility as contributing to greater prosperity for all. Early critics and subsequent commentators have pointed to the associated outcomes of over-, under-, and unemployment and downward pressure on wages and conditions of employment. Such outcomes have exacerbated the disparities for women and indigenous peoples. These disparate outcomes are deemed contradictory to the liberation and inclusiveness principles aspired to by democratic societies. There is growing interest in the possibility of harnessing career concepts and processes to facilitate desired changes in the processes and accountabilities of employment. Governments in diverse nations have created complex institutional links between employment and welfare institutions and hired career experts to intervene in the career planning of citizens. This intervention draws upon contemporary career constructs where it is assumed that individuals can and ought to take responsibility for managing their careers, themselves, and their family. This allocation of responsibility is typically bereft of political analysis and becomes problematic for vulnerable groups and for the principle of inclusiveness in a context that celebrates efficiency gains through downward pressure on income and employment conditions and creates employment insecurity for many people.

The empirical work for this thesis was designed to investigate my analysis of the co-emergence of the discourses of global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour

flexibility and the contemporary discourses of career. Career Services *rapuara* was chosen as an instrumental case study (Stake, 1998). This organisation is a government sponsored career agency in New Zealand charged with providing career services to facilitate increased personal responsibility for career planning in an increasingly insecure employment market. Partial ethnographic method (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) was used to frame material collection. Records and documents were reviewed, and interviews with staff were conducted to gain an understanding of the organisation. Two career guidance sessions with unemployed adults were observed to understand career intervention techniques. These participants were then interviewed to gain understanding of their perceptions of the career session.

Both neo-liberals and critical theorists promote a commitment to human liberation. Neo-liberals suggest this liberation occurs through the unconstrained activities of the markets. My study supports the view of critical theorists that the seemingly natural processes of markets are complex nexus of power and control. The uncritical use of contemporary career theories, concepts, and practices naturalises and upholds these powerful and dominant relationships. A critical transformation of the discourses of globalisation, flexibility, and career based on genuine human liberation, empowerment and participation is called for to resist the dominant and powerful interests of society.

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Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Critical theorists have drawn attention to the social and historic construction of the minute activities of our daily lives (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Deetz, 1992; Fournier & Grey, 2000; Jermier, 1985). Critical theorists have concerned themselves with locating these social constructions within particular power and domination relationships. They take issue with the seemingly 'naturalness' and 'inevitability' of our 'personal' life situations. They believe that certain processes within society render us unconscious to particular forms of power and domination, and that we come to behave in ways, perhaps unwittingly, that uphold particular relationships of power and domination. Part of the critical project they call for, and which this thesis attempts, is to 'denaturalise' our day-to-day lives by deconstructing the historically embedded political, powerful, and dominant relationships. The concern is to emancipate individuals from their unconscious states, to liberate their lives so they may participate democratically in the political processes that affect their day-to-day lives.

In his introduction of a series of critical essays, Forester (1985) locates the concerns of critical theorists in the project of emancipation and political resistance. In the following extract I have replaced 'essay' with 'critical theorists', thus according to Forester:

> A concern with political power, and the ambiguities of authority, and the possibility of concrete action ties together the intentions of [critical theorists]...Power...is not a simple possession; it must be understood instead as an ensemble of relations in which diverse, historically situated subjects have variously skewed chances, abilities, and capacities for action. [Critical theorists] work to reveal the power in the maintenance of selective silences, the power manifest in the fragmentation of issue definition, the power manifest in the management of information and the subsequent shaping of popular attention, consent, belief, and trust. [Critical theorists] explore problems of power...to clarify how political and economic power is reproduced, consolidated, and maintained in ways that threaten to turn democratic politics into a rhetorical fiction (p. xiv).

Foucault (1977) argued that through the intervention of expertise, our minute behaviours and our understanding of our 'self' can be managed and manipulated. Rose (1989) extended Foucault's analysis to suggest that through the intervention of 'experts' we may come to see our 'self' in terms of 'another'. Through generating anxiety around a particular construct of 'normality' we may manage our 'self' to become this 'other'. Rose, and Foucault before him, argued that this 'other' is fabricated to facilitate the achievement of certain political (and often invisible) objectives.

It is my contention that there is an historical relationship between the emerging discourses of globalisation, organisational and labour flexibility, and contemporary career management and development. These discourses are used to describe and construct particular ways of organising macro-level political and economic relationships, organisational structures, the nature and composition of employment, and what it means to have a 'career'. It is my belief that the concomitant application of these discourses over the decades beginning in the 1980s upholds and reproduces particular forms of power and dominant interests within contemporary society. There has been a concerted effort by multinational corporations and businesses, and some nation states to create a global political and economic environment based upon neo-liberal ideology that is conducive to global free trade and favours the achievement of narrowly defined efficiency and profit maximisation goals of business. These narrowly defined goals of business have come to dominate the way employment and welfare is shaped and impact upon the minute processes of our day-to-day lives.

The aim in this thesis is to gain insight to how the powerful and dominant groups have come to reshape our understanding of democracy, sovereignty, employment and work, and welfare provision in the decades following the end of the Second World War. I explore the processes that might be used to re-fabricate individuals' understandings so that they uncritically accept wider socio-political and economic changes. These processes can equally be used to compel individuals to change their own behaviour through the threat of punishment.

My intention in this thesis is to 'denaturalise' contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice and to locate this discourse within a wider historical political and economic context characterised by the emergence of global neo-liberalism. I argue that economic neo-liberalism is a political creation that serves particular powerful and dominant interests, yet intimately affects the day-to-day life chances and experiences of individuals. I argue that contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice can be used to discipline citizens to accept wider political and economic changes associated with global neo-liberalism by facilitating the re-shaping and re-fabrication of our understandings around a notion of employment associated with 'organisational and labour flexibility'. Thus, we may become assimilated into the wider social structure created under the conditions of global neo-liberalism, and in so doing, facilitate the normalisation of global neo-liberalism and workplace change.

This thesis has three conceptual parts. The first part is presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. These chapters establish my theoretical framework around the relationships between the discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility. and contemporary career management and development. The second part of this thesis is presented in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven. These chapters set out the purpose of the empirical research of this thesis, and the methodological implications and actual methods used for collecting the empirical material. The third part of this thesis is presented in Chapter Eight through to Chapter Thirteen. The empirical material gathered for this thesis is presented in Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten. This material is discussed in Chapter Eleven by drawing upon the theoretical argument established in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The conclusions and implications are presented in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen.

1.2 'Global Neo-liberalism', 'Flexibility', and 'Career'

In Chapters Two and Three I set out to make visible the relationship between the emerging discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and contemporary career management and development. I begin this analysis in Chapter Two, arguing that in

the post-Second World War period, many Western nations developed forms of Keynesianism-styled macro-level economic management. Thus, governments became involved in asset ownership, welfare provision and managing the economy. By the 1970s, economic decline was evident in many Western nations. Those favouring a neo-liberal analysis argued that this decline was the result of government intervention in welfare provision, business practices, and government ownership in assets. The neo-liberal explanation came to dominate policy change in the United States and Britain in the late 1970s, and in New Zealand by the mid 1980s. Policy responses included deregulating the economy and business activity, reducing expenditure on welfare, and reformulating the notion of individual responsibility to provide for the self and family.

During the 1990s, there has been a concerted effort to globalise neo-liberalism as the preferred political and economic way to structure both the legal and economic environment within nations as well as the relationships between nations. Throughout the 1990s there has been a concerted effort by powerful nations and multinational companies to create the conditions favourable to free trade in goods and services, finance, and labour. The creation of free trade has required political negotiations at the global level to be translated into national-level policy structures. By the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s many other nations began to implement neo-liberalism to varying degrees and have transformed and liberalised their economies in accordance with the free trade initiatives. There have been reductions in government expenditure on welfare provision, the sale of once state-owned assets, and the liberalising of regulations governing the activities of local and international businesses. The political changes have created a new environment for economic activity. There has been an increase in international trade in goods, services, finance, and labour. Cultural trends indicate a convergence of identity around narrowly defined notions of individualism. Thus citizens of diverse cultures and nations are being invited to see themselves as atomised individuals who have the freedom to pursue their 'own' interests, goals, and lifestyle choices, and have the responsibility to provide for their personal and family well-being. Advocates of global neo-liberalism have argued that free trade will lead

to greater wealth creation and improved standards of living for the global community. Less optimistic commentators draw attention to trends that have emerged along with the expansion of free trade. These trends include the global redistribution of employment and wealth, growing gaps between rich and poor, environmental and health damage, and the loss of national sovereignty and citizens' ability to participate democratically in their societies. These outcomes have been exacerbated for women and indigenous people.

Most commentators argue that globalisation is a macro-level phenomenon. However, Reinicke (1997) argues that globalisation is a micro-level phenomenon affecting the structure and strategic behaviours of organisations. The focus of Chapter Three is to make linkages between the 1990s' discourse of global neo-liberalism with the 1980s' discourse of 'flexibility'. Organisational and labour flexibility discourse has its roots in the 1980s when business leaders in many Western nations sought to restructure their firms to become internationally competitive. Business leaders argued that they needed greater 'flexibility' to downsize organisational structures, increase part-time work, casualise employment, and use contractual employment arrangements. They sought changes to employment legislation to introduce forms of labour and organisational flexibility. By the 1990s, multinational corporations continued to draw upon the argument that 'flexibility' was required to remain competitive in the 'global market'. Thus while the flexibility discourse emerged throughout the 1980s, the same principles of changing the shape and nature of employment have been drawn upon throughout the 1990s to reduce the cost of business. Nationally based firms have also continued to adopt forms of organisational and labour flexibility to remain competitive, while others have closed their doors. The restructuring of organisations throughout the 1980s and 1990s has seen the emergence of leaner organisational structures, and increased forms of casualisation, part-time employment, and contractual employment arrangements. There has been a concomitant emergence of contradictory trends of over-employment, under-employment, and unemployment along with downward pressure on income and working conditions in many nations.

Contemporary career management and development theorists have drawn upon the changes to the nature and shape of organisations and employment as providing the impetus to rethink what it means to have a career. They note that the traditional form of an upwardly mobile career is no longer a valid way to describe or plan for one's career. Rather, contemporary career theorists point out that the career is now boundaryless, can involve many job changes, and links all one's education, training, employment, and lifestyle needs. Contemporary career theorists celebrate the changes to work as providing a new 'space' where everyone can have a career. They draw upon notions of individual freedom, choice, and empowerment. Thus, they claim we all have the ability to have a career within this new environment if we plan our lives and choose the 'right' education and employment options that will lead to sustained employability throughout our lives.

The level of individual control, empowerment, and freedom to choose embedded within the discourses of globalisation and contemporary career management and development becomes problematic when located within the wider political and economic environment. These wider environments are characterised by downward pressure on incomes and working conditions, over-, under-, and unemployment, and the ability for firms to rapidly relocate operations to countries or regions that offer more favourable terms of business. Individuals have little or no control over these decisions. Thus, deconstructing 'career' in its contemporary manifestation becomes the focus of Chapter Four.

1.3 Problematising 'Career'

In Chapter Four contemporary career management and development is deconstructed by drawing upon the contributions of Deetz. (1992), Foucault (1977), and Rose (1989). These theorists argue that our minute behaviours are disciplined to 'fit' into the wider political objectives of more powerful and dominant interests within society. Foucault illustrates how our behaviours can be changed by applying the panoptic techniques of surveillance, normalising judgement, and examination within hierarchical relationships characterised by power and subordination. Combined,

these techniques make the minute behaviours of individuals visible, comparable, and amenable to change.

Rose (1989) builds on the work of Foucault, to argue that governments manage our minute behaviours from a distance to achieve their political goals. He argues that through two related processes of 'technologies of the self' and 'techniques of the self' our thoughts, values, behaviours, and how we come to experience and 'see' our 'self' may be managed and changed. Rose argues that governments have created institutions and enlisted the use of 'experts' to intervene in the daily activities of citizens. Experts claim a particular form of knowledge about individuality, they use this knowledge to diagnose our 'self', and provide us with a picture of who we are and a picture of who we could 'become'. Through intervention, experts may guide the transformation of the 'self', to become a more 'useful', 'disciplined' and 'normal' self. However, Rose argues that we have to be amenable to change our self. Thus, through the application of 'techniques of the self' we may come to follow the instructions given to us by experts and implement 'self change'.

Deetz (1992) extends Rose's analysis to argue that the goals of government are increasingly supportive of the needs of multinational corporations. Drawing on the work of Habermas (1987, 1984), Deetz argues that through the processes of de-institutionalisation and colonisation of the life world, the goals of corporations are increasingly being supported by the changing behaviour of government, family, and community groups. He illustrates how the activities of governments, communities, and family have been transformed to support the powerful interests of the corporation as opposed to the interests of family, community, or democracy.

Contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice can be deconstructed and re-interpreted by drawing on the contributions of Foucault, Rose, and Deetz. Governments around the world have become active in linking the notion of a properly managed career to economic prosperity. Governments have set up institutions and hired 'career experts' to manage the process of individual career

planning. Schools, welfare agencies, and community groups have been enlisted to educate students and citizens about the changes in employment and their individual role in managing themselves to stay employable within this new environment.

The process of career intervention at once places an individual within the disciplinary gaze, making their 'selves' visible, and amenable to change. The process of career intervention can be viewed as persuading individuals to see themselves in a particular light, that of an atomised, free individual who has the freedom to choose any career at all. Career theorists however, draw our attention to the 'reality' that work has changed and thus 'we' too must change to fit the employment options available to us. The wider socio-political and economic structures as characterised by globalisation and flexibility, and the disparate outcomes of the widening gap between rich and poor, decreased ability to participate in democracy, contradictory employment trends, and changes to national governance are ignored. Thus a partial view of changes to employment is offered, and this partiality supports particular powerful and dominant interests in society. The processes associated with contemporary career management and development discourse theory and practice can be interpreted as part of a complex apparatus that can be used to facilitate the normalisation of global neo-liberalism, and may serve to assimilate citizens to wider political and economic ways of structuring our life world. The empirical work for this thesis sets out to gain insight into how successive New Zealand governments have drawn upon the contemporary construct of 'career' to manage citizens at a distance through the creation of an intuitional apparatus and the employment of career experts to manage a cultural change to facilitate the acceptance of neo-liberal sentiments.

1.4 A New Zealand Case Study of 'Career'

The over-arching aim of this thesis is to make visible the relationships between the discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and career. In Chapter Five, however, I set out the purpose of the empirical research for this thesis. The empirical research for this doctorate was developed to investigate whether my theorising of the links between the emerging discourses of globalisation, flexibility, and career could be

supported within the New Zealand context. Three themes were developed for the empirical work. First, I wanted to understand the role that successive New Zealand governments have had in developing and creating an institutional apparatus and enlisting career experts to facilitate the dissemination of 'career' to the wider community. Second, I wanted to understand whether these career experts drew upon contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice to guide their work, and whether these constructs were used to re-shape and re-fabricate individual understanding of the 'reality' of work. Third, I wanted to gain insight to whether people who had experienced career intervention drew upon those experiences to change themselves.

The methodological considerations and the actual methods used for this research are presented in Chapter Six and Seven respectively. An instrumental case study approach was used to select the organisation for the empirical research. This approach enables a case study to be chosen specifically because it can illustrate the concerns of the researcher. Career Services *rapuara* was chosen as the organisation to study because it was set up by government in 1990 to provide career information, advice, and guidance to New Zealand citizens. The working premise of Career Services *rapuara* is that individual career planning will benefit individuals, organisations, and communities.

The partial ethnographic approach designed by Alvesson and Deetz (2000) was used to guide the collection of the empirical material. This method has three phases to collecting empirical material that include ethnographic work, situational observations, and interviews. The ethnographic phase involved collecting documents and records, and conducting conversations and semi-structured interviews to gain insight into the organisation. In the second phase, two career guidance sessions were observed. The purpose of observing the career guidance sessions was to gain insight to the process of guidance, and to uncover whether the guidance methods used by the career consultant were similar to the techniques described in the contemporary career management and development literature. Phase three of the research involved interviewing the people

who participated in the observed situations. The purpose of these interviews was to gain insight into how they perceived the guidance sessions.

By the end of the research, I had conducted 15 interviews, observed two situations and collected numerous documents and reports. Eleven of these interviews were conducted as part of the first phase of this research. These 11 people had worked in seven of the 16 Career Branches throughout New Zealand. These people were career consultants as well as administrative and managerial staff. The documents, records, and interview material collected in phase one of the research are presented in Chapters Eight and Nine respectively.

Chapter Eight describes the historical processes that led to the creation and maintenance of Career Services *rapuara.* In this chapter it is noted that successive governments since the late 1980s have concerned themselves with creating a 'career service'. This has involved establishing institutional links with government departments to facilitate economic, education, and labour market goals through the provision of career education, information, advice, and guidance. The institutional framework created was to place particular focus on the unemployed, youth, women, Maori and Pacific Island people, and those suffering work-related injuries. Thus, Chapter Eight uncovers the links between stated government goals to liberalise national policy and the development of an institutional apparatus to 'teach' citizens to become 'self-steering' agents in the creation of their own careers to better fit the employment environment that has resulted as a part of the political and economic liberalisation.

Chapter Nine draws upon the interview material to describe what the staff stated they believed their work involved, including their perceptions of career intervention as a strategy for change, and the work of Career Services *rapuara* as an agency. This chapter highlights the commonalities and differences between the Career Services *rapuara* staff interviewed in this thesis, with the perspectives reflected in contemporary career management and development literature as presented in Chapter

Three. Commonalties were discerned between the definitions of 'career' used, the importance of career planning, and an acceptance of the need for individuals to create 'themselves' to fit the current work environment. Like contemporary career theorists, the staff typically drew upon changes to employment, for example, increased part-time, casual and contractual arrangements, and redundancies, as the impetus for the need for an individual response in the form of career planning. Similarly, the staff interviewed seldom, if ever, located these changes in employment to wider socio-political and economic changes associated with global neo-liberalism or organisational and labour flexibility.

Chapter Ten describes the two career guidance sessions that were observed and presents thematically the post-observation interviews that were held with the career guidance counsellor and the two participants. The purpose of observing a guidance session was to gain insight to the actual process of career guidance used to help an individual to plan their 'career' and to gain insight to the work of career guidance counsellors as possible 'experts in subjectivity'. The observed participants were unemployed men in receipt of the unemployment welfare payment. The interest in observing sessions involving people in receipt of welfare payments developed as an outcome of the ethnographic phase of the research. During that phase I discovered the majority of the Career Services *rapuara* guidance session clients were referred by one of two government agencies responsible for moving welfare recipients into paid employment.

1.5 The Multiplicity of 'Career'

The empirical material presented in Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten are discussed in relation to the theoretical arguments developed in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The material is interpreted critically by drawing on the contributions of Deetz (1992), Foucault (1977; 1980), and Rose (1989). This research represents the development in my own thinking and understanding of the processes that may be involved in disciplining citizens in contemporary society. Since the development of neo-liberalism in New Zealand from 1984 to the present time, significant disparities have

emerged in the standard of living, wealth distribution, health statistics, and educational attainment. I have been concerned that these disparities in society have continued to grow since 1984. Most alarming has been the predominance of the argument that these disparities are the result of personal effort and that they will 'right' themselves by deregulating the economy further. To this end, successive New Zealand governments have continued to adhere to a global free trade agenda.

In harmony with the free trade agenda, successive New Zealand governments since 1984 have continued to de-regulate our economy, reduce government welfare provision, and continued to adhere to a belief that individualised efforts produce 'fair' outcomes. This research attempts to dispel the myth of individual control and freedom within an environment where particular powerful and dominant interests are favoured over the interests of citizens' rights to assert democratic participation in creating the direction of our society.

The prevailing discourse in New Zealand is that global free trade will 'cure' the economic and participative disparities evidenced in the growing gap between rich and poor, disproportionate unemployment for Maori and Pacific Island people, and the growing poverty among women and children. Within New Zealand, businesses have relatively more power to determine the shape, nature, and conditions of employment. In the decades from the 1980s, the conditions of employment and incomes have deteriorated for many. These are characterised by more insecure forms of employment and longer working days for some. Economic structural change in the 1980s resulted in a phase of mass redundancies and continued to occur, albeit at a slower rate, throughout the 1990s and to the present time.

Career Services *rapuara* and the associated institutional affiliations were created in 1990 to help New Zealanders to understand the changes in the structure and nature of employment and their individual responsibility to create an 'employable self'. The activities of Career Services *rapuara* reflect the espoused views of contemporary career theorists. Both the organisation itself and the staff interviewed drew upon

changes to employment as the impetus for a need to 'rethink' career. Staff also expressed notions of individual responsibility to create the 'self' to fit into the demands of the employment environment. Almost without exception the staff interviewed did not relate changes in employment to wider political and economic agendas associated with the introduction of global neo-liberalism or the use of organisational and labour flexibility strategies.

The contributions of Foucault, Rose, and Deetz enable the empirical material to be critically interpreted. The creation of Career Services *rapuara* and the employment of career experts reflect Rose's argument that governments seek to manage citizens from a distance to fit more neatly into wider political objectives. The intervention process of the career experts is reminiscent of the disciplinary techniques discussed by Foucault and Rose whereby clients were asked to disclose their values, beliefs, skills, and interests. These aspects of the 'self' were linked to possible work opportunities and strategies for self-improvement through re-education and training. Recommendations for gaining employment included voluntary work to gain skills, and accepting part-time, casual, or fixed-term contract work.

Aspects of what Deetz termed 'deinstitutionalisation' and 'colonisation' of the life world were also evident. As part of their work, Career Services *rapuara* 'educate' students, parents and teachers about the changes to employment. The purpose of educating youth about 'career' is to ensure they learn the links between their educational choices and future employment opportunities. Parents and teachers had become the target of 'career intervention' to ensure they provide good information to children about the 'realties of work'.

In Chapter Twelve it is concluded that on one level, career intervention seems to provide a functional guide to help 'us' choose a 'career' in an increasingly turbulent employment environment. At another level, the apparatus of 'career' would seem to facilitate the re-fabrication of individuality to fit more neatly into a wider socio-political and economic agenda of neo-liberalism. This wider environment serves

particular powerful dominant interests, primarily multinational corporations and some more powerful nation states. Thus the process of 'career management' can be seen to work to assimilate citizens uncritically to accept this wider environment, or at least to solicit individuals to do the 'appropriate' things to themselves to ensure their own employability. In the broader context of this thesis, the process of 'career' can be viewed as a process that reduces our ability to participate democratically in our society.

1.6 Concluding Thoughts

While critical theorists seek to denaturalise what appears as natural and inevitable, they also seek to create positive change. In Chapter Thirteen I explore the possibilities of creating political change that has the aim of addressing the economic and participative disparities associated with global neo-liberalism. Chapter Thirteen begins with the career stories of my brothers and I. These stories illustrate how the changes to employment characteristic in New Zealand have impacted upon our micro-day-to-day life experiences. These stories are interpreted by drawing upon the metaphors of career offered by contemporary career theorists and by drawing upon the critical readings in this thesis. Our stories are unique yet they illustrate wider emerging trends of the 1980s and 1990s.

In the second part of Chapter Thirteen I suggest that the 'careers' my brothers and I desire would require structural political and economic change. These changes would need to address global free trade, national sovereignty, the rights of citizens to participate in democracy, and the fettering of business activity. Notions of work and employment need to be redefined, and more inclusive ways to 'reward' work need to be established. Wider political and economic structures need to be reshaped if the aspirations of creating a fairer and more inclusive society as espoused by the present New Zealand Government are to be achieved. The next chapter locates global neo-liberalism within a wider historical and socio-political context.

Chapter Two

Global Neo-liberalism

2.1 Introduction

Contemporary career theorists (e.g. Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994; Hall, et al., 1996; Handy, 1994, 1989; Watts, 1997) suggest the macro-level changes in the period since the end of the Second World War generated a call for changes to the type and shape of employment and the re-conceptualisation of modern careers. The focus of this chapter is to provide a review of the macro-level changes in this time frame. The concurrent changes to employment and careers are discussed in Chapter Three. The purpose of this chapter and Chapter Three, is to argue that there is a relationship between the emerging discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and contemporary career. In Chapter Four, it is argued that the discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and contemporary career have come to shape new understandings of our 'selves', and what we can expect from employment and government. Chapters Two, Three and Four provide the theoretical framework for this thesis.

The material in Chapters Two, Three and four demonstrates that there have been purposeful processes associated with the political, economic and cultural changes that have occurred since the end of the Second World War to the present time. These processes have culminated into what is now referred to as globalisation, and what I have referred to in this thesis as global neo-liberalism. This material demonstrates the links between the macro-level processes of globalisation (discussed in Chapter Two) with the meso-level processes of organisational and labour flexibility, and how these two processes combine to affect the micro-level practices of our daily lives as expressed through contemporary career theory and practice (as discussed in Chapter Three). The literature selected and presented in Chapters Two and Three enables a critical reading of, and challenge to the popular assertions that globalisation, labour and organisational flexibility and redesigning career will bring benefits to a wider global society. Such a reading is important if the many disparities that have come to be associated with applied neo-liberalism and globalisation are to be addressed.

Following the end of The Second World War, most Western democratic nations adopted what has been termed the Keynesian Welfare compromise (Giddens, 1998). Under this system governments increasingly regulated the activities of the market place, provided welfare, sought full employment polices, linked real wage rises to productivity gains, and stimulated the economy through fiscal and monetary policies (Drache, 1996). Until the early 1970s continued economic growth and prosperity was attributed to macro level economic management (Drache, 1996). However, by the 1970s the world economy was frequently described as being in crisis, as evidenced by rising inflation, unemployment, and a decrease in demand (Lipietz, 1983). There have been many explanations as to why the 'crisis' occurred (Lipietz, 1983; Piore & Sable, 1984; Roper, 1993). However, the neo-liberal analysis has gained international prominence. This view entails the notion that government involvement in welfare provision, managing the economy, and regulating business led to what was deemed the economic crisis of the 1970s (Giddens, 1998). The neo-liberal analyses and subsequent policy directives were initially adopted by Great Britain, the United States of America, and New Zealand in the 1980s. By the 1990s most Western and increasing numbers of Asian, Latin American, and Third World nations also had adopted neo-liberalism (Brook Cowen, 1997). The rising of this global adoption of neo-liberalism has resulted from complex political, economic and cultural processes at the international, national, firm, and individual level (Giddens, 1998). In harmony with the neo-liberal analysis many nations have sought to reduce government spending on welfare, the withdrawal of government management of the economy, and to deregulate business activity (Perkin, 1996).

The rationale for neo-liberalism is that the voluntary conduct of individuals freely making exchanges in an unregulated market will lead to better welfare provision, fairer employment and income distribution than governments could effect. Applied globally, neo-liberalism has fuelled a relentless campaign by some nation states to create global free trade in capital, finance, labour, goods and services (Cerny, 1999; Crane, 1999; Perkin, 1996; Kelsey, 1995). The World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank argue that globalisation will result

in an improvement in well-being of the worlds citizens (Driscoll, 1998; Kelsey, 1995; IMF, 1999a, b, c, d; WTO, 1998). Yet, others point out that such globalisation of a specific economic paradigm has restricted national policy to support business over citizen welfare (Cerny, 1999; Washington, 1996) resulting in a restricted form of election-day democracy (Deetz, 1992; Washington, 1996). Others argue that the result of this form of globalisation has led to the redistribution of employment and wealth resulting in greater income inequality (Mander, 1996), the feminisation of work and poverty (The Global Trade Watch, 1998), and has had adverse affects on indigenous people rights (Kelsey, 1999). Because of the perceived negative consequences of globalisation and the inevitability of globalisation, socialist parties of Western democratic nations began to reframe their policy agendas to integrate preferred aspects of Keynesian and neo-liberal ideology (Giddens, 1998). These reframings have collectively become known as The Third Way. By the late 1990s, and after almost two decades of neo-liberal leadership, governments supporting a 'Third Way' have been elected in many Western Europe democracies, New Zealand, and until recently the United States (Teixeira, 2000). The United States currently has a conservative government. According to some, the Third Way politics appears to have more in common with neo-liberalism than Keynesianism (Rose, 2000).

The focus of this chapter is to explore the macro-level changes that have occurred since the end of the Second World War to the present time. By tracing this history it is possible to illustrate the parallel emergence of specific economic and social directives with compatible job and career concepts as well as the reshaping and normalising of 'selves' to those jobs and careers. Section 2.2 briefly outlines the distinguishing features of Keynesian and neo-liberalism. In section 2.3 it is argued that throughout the 1990s the globalisation of neo-liberalism has been achieved through complex political, economic, and cultural processes. Section 2.4 reviews the espoused benefits, and what some believe to be negative, outcomes of globalisation on nation states, democracy, the redistribution of employment and wealth, women, and indigenous people. Section 2.5 briefly outlines Third Way politics and suggests that in the current form, Third Way more closely resembles neo-liberalism than the more

socially inspired-Keynesianism. Section 2.6 briefly concludes that the Third Way political agenda is closely aligned with global neo-liberalism.

2.2 Keynesianism to Neo-liberalism

In the post-Second World War era many industrialised Western nations experienced high economic growth. Many authors attribute this growth to the rise in social democratic principles of equality embedded in Keynesian welfare-styled national policies (Boyer, 1988; Hutton, 1995; Kelsey, 1995). By the 1970s world-wide economic growth slowed, accompanied by rising unemployment and inflation (Giddens, 1998). Proponents of free markets held that the recession was symptomatic of Keynesian Welfarism (Perkin, 1996; Sussens-Messerer, 1998). For them, Keynesian Welfare management led to inflexible labour markets, high government expenditure, and inflexible business regulation; and these practices combined led to an inability for business to respond to changes in the macro-level environment (Perkin, 1996; Roper, 1993; Sussens-Messerer, 1998).

By the 1980s, in response to economic downturn, the United States and Britain began to promote reformation of the state, employment law, and welfare provision on neo-liberal principles (Perkin, 1996). By the 1990s many other nations began to reorganise in a similar way and there were movements towards adopting neo-liberalism globally, influencing relationships between nations and within states (Kelsey, 1999; Perkin, 1996). The discussion in this section serves to highlight the different principles and assumptions underlying Keynesian Welfarism and neo-liberalism as forms of governance.

2.2.1 The 1940s to the 1970s: Developing Social Democracy

In the post-Second World War period many governments sought to avoid the economic conditions that were believed to have led to the 1929 Depression. Explanations of what caused the Depression varied. Some believed that this depression was a result of unregulated market activity (Boyer, 1988). Liptiez (1992) suggested that the mass production and low wage structure associated with Tayloristic

production methods prior to the 1929 depression caused a decline in mass consumption resulting in downward price spirals. Driscoll (1998) also notes that, as a result of the Depression, some countries abandoned gold-backed currencies. He suggests that this led to incompatibilities between international currencies and hence difficulties in measuring terms of trade between nations. Driscoll suggests the combined effect of the Depression and terms of trade difficulties negatively impacted international trade. This became the impetus to create an international financial system to alleviate international price uncertainty (Driscoll, 1998).

However, Giddens (1998) suggests that in response to the perceived connection between unregulated markets and the Depression of the 1930s, many industrialised Western governments and citizens in the post-Second World War years, advocated government intervention in the market place and state provision of public goods that the market could not, or would not, deliver. He notes that social democrats believed public power is legitimised because it represents the collective good. The collective decision-making between government, the business sector, and unions partly moderates market mechanisms. In harmony with social democratic ideals, many Western governments implemented (to varying degrees) welfare provision, Keynesian demand management policies, and employment protection legislation (Drache, 1996). Lipietz (1983) notes underpinning these ideals was a commitment by most political parties to continued economic growth and welfare provision for citizens.

Giddens holds that the purpose of the Welfare State was "to create a more equal society [and] to protect individuals across the life cycle" (p. 10). In the post-Second World War era, these goals were achieved by redistributing income through progressive taxation and through state provision of education, health, housing and welfare (Giddens, 1998; Boyer, 1995). Governments also implemented 'market-correcting social programmes' to protect citizens from unregulated market activity (Drache, 1996). Lipietz (1983) notes that welfare provision and Keynesian demand management policies provided a framework and ground rules that "conferred on the

state an active responsibility for controlling the economy; through budget deficits, or government spending, it could stimulate growth" (p.7).

Mass consumption was seen as an important means by which to stimulate economic growth. Employment creation, real wage rises, protective employment legislation, and welfare provision were viewed as mechanisms to stimulate mass consumption. Drache (1996) notes that between 1945 and the 1970s most Western democratic governments took responsibility for employment creation. Real wage increases were achieved through what some refer to as the 'Fordist wage compromise' (Boyer, 1988; Lipietz, 1983). This apparent compromise between employers and employees meant employers exchanged the right to control the work process in Taylorist style for productivity-linked wage rises. Lipietz (1983) suggest this 'compromise' was fought for and won by union activity. At the same time, many governments introduced protective employment legislation that strengthened unions and encouraged some form of union/employer wage-bargaining (Drache, 1996). Boyer (1988) suggests welfare provision stimulated consumption for those workers who earned less than a living wage.

The outcome of the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference was the creation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. These Bretton Woods institutions which formally began operating in 1945 and 1946, were created to address pre-war international trade difficulties and to recreate war torn Europe. The GATT was to encourage international goods trade by removing trade barriers between nations. The IMF and the World Bank were to facilitate the reconstruction of "war-torn Europe and restore Western industrial capitalism" (Kelsey, 1999, p. 91). The IMF's role was to concentrate on developing and managing the international monetary system and balance of payments issues; the World Bank was to focus on long-term economic development and structural issues (IMF, 1999a; Kelsey, 1999; The World Bank Group, 2000a).

Like most Western nations, New Zealand adopted Keynesian state management and welfare systems (Boston, 1999; Le Heron & Pawson, 1996). However, Pawson et al. (1996) trace New Zealand's adoption to the early nineteenth century when government first became involved in developing roads, railways, postal services, and banking and insurance systems. By the 1930s the First Labour Government began developing a comprehensive Welfare system in New Zealand through the introduction of the Social Security Act 1938. From that time until 1984, the New Zealand welfare system was based on social democratic notions of justice (Boston, 1999a; Gustafson, 1998, Pawson et al., 1996). Throughout this period there was a commitment to The State providing social assistance and social services, funded through progressive taxation. Welfare provision eventually included health care, education, superannuation, and welfare benefits for the unemployed, widows, invalids, the sick, and single parents (Boston, 1999; Gustafson, 1998). Boston (1999) notes that during the post-Second World War period there was a focus on ensuring that families received adequate wage incomes, as measured on male income levels. Pawson et al. (1996) note that the practices of New Zealand governments were already in harmony with the post war 'Keynesian-welfare consensus' adopted by most Western nations. Thus, from the end of the Second World War and until the 1980s New Zealand governments continued to place emphasis on full employment, welfare support, and progressively enlarged the activities of the state (Pawson et al., 1996).

Boyer (1988) notes that between 1950 and 1973 most Western industrialised countries experienced around five percent annual growth, and America and many European countries experiencing low unemployment. He suggests that this growth enabled the maintenance of good welfare and social security measures. Because of the growth, this period was viewed as 'the Golden Age' (Drache, 1996). New Zealand also experienced low unemployment and productivity gains of around 2% throughout this period (Boston, 1999; Hazledine, 2000). Yet by the 1960s the Golden Age appeared to be under pressure, with many commentators (Lipietz, 1983; Piore & Sable, 1984; Roper, 1993) referring to the 1970s as an era of crisis.

2.2.2 The 1970s to 1980s: 'In Crisis'

By the 1970s, the post-Second World War boom began to decline into world recession (Boyer, 1988; Mies, 1986). Many nations, including New Zealand experienced high inflation, high unemployment, monetary instability, and balance of trade difficulties (Boston, 1999; Boyer, 1988; Kelsey, 1995; Mies, 1986; Webber, 1991). While there is general agreement about economic decline during the 1970s and 1980s, there have been many explanations as to the cause of this decline.

Lipietz (1983) suggests the economic crisis arose as a result of continued wage rises along side decreasing productivity. For him, this led to falling profits, unemployment, and declining demand. Piore and Sable (1984) attribute the economic crisis to a decline in productivity, the two oil shocks in 1973 and 1978, labour shortages, increased competition from newly industrialised nations, and the saturation of mass markets.

Roper (1993) notes that the combination of the oil shocks and Britain's decision to join the European Union in 1973 had a significant impact on New Zealand. He notes New Zealand was reliant on importing oil and intermediary products, and exporting agricultural products. The oil shocks led to inflationary pressure increasing the cost of imports. The loss of unrestricted access to Britain reduced traditional export markets in agricultural products (Brook Cowen, 1997; Gustafson, 1998).

Monetary economists argued that the recession was symptomatic of Keynesian policy, the Welfare State, and inflexible labour markets (Giddens, 1998), and thus began to voice their concern over the 'logic' of Fordist-Keynesian policies during the 1960s and 1970s (Boyer, 1988). By the late 1970s and early 1980s their analysis of the apparent crisis and solutions to it began to gain favour initially in the United States, Britain and New Zealand (Giddens, 1998; Kelsey, 1995; Perkin, 1996; Webber, 1991). By the 1990s, many other nations began to adopt similar monetarist analyses and policies. The ideological base and the practical solutions consistent with this perspective have collectively become known as neo-liberalism (Brook Cowen, 1997).

The following section briefly describes neo-liberalism and reviews the influence of this approach on policy initiatives in the United States, Britain, and New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s.

2.2.3 The 1980s to the 1990s: Neo-liberalism and Rebuilding the Market

Brook Cowen (1997) notes that 'neo-liberalism' is the contemporary version of economic direction and is based upon classical liberal philosophy and present day market-orientated economic theory. She argues that underpinning neo-liberalism is the classical political and economic belief in individual liberty and a rejection of the belief that government can improve upon the outcomes of voluntary exchanges. Neo-liberalism draws on the assumption of Adam Smith's classic liberal economic theory that the voluntary interactions between individuals in markets will improve individual and social well-being; the role of government is to protect liberty, thus enabling individuals to interact freely in markets (Brook Cowen, 1997; Giddens, 1998; Hutton, 1995).

Contemporary liberal economists and philosophers (e.g. Friedman, 1962; Hayek, 1960) draw upon classic economic theory to critique Keynesian-Welfare state management (Cheyne, O'Beien, & Belgrave, 2000). Brook Cowen (1997) notes that such contemporary critiques have emphasised the role of private property, and economic and political liberty in creating social well-being. From this perspective, the role of the state in promoting well-being is to set the rules governing property rights, and to facilitate individual freedom and voluntary action in markets (Brook Cowen, 1997). With such a framework in place, neo-liberals argue that social justice is achieved through individuals making informed choices; and that any disparities of income or wealth are attributed to individuals making poor choices and not to socially unjust practices (Cheyne et al., 2000). Cheyne et al. point out that under neo-liberalism, disparities of outcomes are viewed as incentives for those less well off to better themselves. Within this perspective families are deemed responsible for taking care of individuals who are disaffected by seemingly poor choices. However, any redistribution of income or wealth ought to be voluntary and administered by charity

organisations. Government welfare provision is viewed as counter productive by neo-liberals because they believe that income redistribution through welfare provision creates 'welfare dependency'. Such welfare provision also requires government intervention, which neo-liberals reject. For neo-liberals government welfare provision ought to be targeted and used as an incentive to facilitate independence (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Neo-liberalism also draws from political and economic theories that were developed in the University of Chicago during the 1960s. Brook Cowen (1997) highlights four branches of analysis from this school that have been influential. These are:

- Macro-economic and monetary analysis of government fiscal deficits and inflationary monetary policy damage welfare and economic growth;
- Analysis of firms and other kinds of organisations (industrial organisation theory);
- Analysis of how laws shape economic behaviour (law and economics);
- The application of ideas about how incentives shape economic behaviour to the political sphere (public choice theory) (1997, p. 343).

Brook Cowen suggests these four analyses have been influential in neo-liberal policy in New Zealand since the 1980s. From this perspective, rather than using fiscal deficits to counter recession, deficits are viewed as contributing to prolonged recession. Instead, balanced budgets and 'fiscal responsibility' is advocated as the best mechanism to reduce recession. Thus from a monetarist perspective employment will be generated by limiting the money supply and reducing inflation.

Brook Cowen states that law and economic theory and industrial organisation theory seek to understand the relationship between organisation structure, contracts, economic arrangements and legal systems, and individual behaviour. She suggests these two analytical approaches change what is defined as a policy problem and also provide a new means of thinking through the consequences of policies. She notes these two analytical approaches have influenced reforms in areas of financial market regulation, antitrust laws, state sector reform and privatisation. In this thesis my interest lies in the understanding the relationship between government economic and legal reform, including the creation of government-sponsored career management

institutions, and associated changes in organisation structure, and individual behaviour as expressed through contemporary career management and development concepts, theories, and practices.

Public choice theory assumes the behaviour of political actors, for example politicians, lobby groups, voters and bureaucrats, is dominated by self interest. From this perspective, politicians are viewed as acting in accordance with their own political survival, and bureaucrats as seeking to enlarge their public sector to gain more funding and job security (Brook Cowen, 1997; Cheyne et al., 2000). In accordance with public choice theory, Brook Cowen (1997) holds that the Reserve Bank and State Owned Enterprises legislation were designed to "deliberately put day-to-day decisions about monetary policy and the operation of state-owned businesses at arm's length from politicians, reasoning that politicians would otherwise be unable to resist the incentive to meddle" (p. 345).

Cheyne et al. note the close relationship between agency theory, transaction-cost theory, and public choice theory. Agency theorists attempt to describe the relationships between two contractual parties (Whitener et al., 1998). Whitener et al. (1998) explain that a contractual relationship exists when "one party – the principal – contracts another party – the agent – to perform a task involving the delegation of decision-making in exchange for compensation" (p. 514). They go on to say that the agency theory perspective assumes "self-interest – meaning that individuals strive to maximise individual utility and that both parties seek to minimise risks associated with the relationship" (p. 515). According to the agency theory perspective, it is assumed that contracting out state service provision to third parties will enhance the efficiency of service delivery.

Transaction cost theory attempts to explain how organisations decide on firm boundaries (Afuah, 2001; Steensma & Corley, 2001). Steensma and Corley (2001) state that the central argument of a transaction cost perspective is that:

> the organization of economic activities at the firm level is driven by the minimization of not only production costs, but also the associated

> transaction costs. Transaction costs 'include all search and information costs, as well as the costs of monitoring and enforcing contractual performance' (p. 272).

From this perspective the transaction cost of contractual relationships is compared with the cost of organisations performing services in-house (Afuah, 2001). It is assumed where the transaction cost of contracting out is more efficient than firms developing in-house expertise, then firms will seek contractual relationships within the market place (Afuah, 2001; Steensma & Corley, 2001). However, under neo-liberalism, the supremacy of the market to provide more efficiently and effectively than in-house expertise is already assumed. Agency and transaction cost theories were used by the state to justify the need for state restructuring along market principles. The influence of these theories upon public reform in New Zealand are illustrated by the creation of contractual arrangements within the public sector, and by the development of competition in public sector service provision through the creation of 'quasi markets' (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Combined, these approaches seek to reduce state spending, enhance market activity, and regenerate responsibility for personal well-being at the individual level. With this approach public interference in controlling the market, whether it is through welfare provision, subsidies, or employment law, is viewed as harmful to society. From this perspective, political and personal power is reduced to notions of consumerism and consumer sovereignty. It is assumed that through consumer choice services will be provided more efficiently and improve because unsatisfied customers will seek services elsewhere. This set of assumptions were applied to public service provision even when the 'client' has no choice between providers (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Neo-liberalism, as a body of thought, influenced public and economic policies within Britain and the United States of America in the 1970s and early 1980s, under the leaderships of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Perkin, 1996). The adoption of neo-liberal ideology in New Zealand began with the election of the Fourth Labour Government in 1984 and continued throughout the 1990s under the National Government and National Government-led coalitions. The New Zealand Treasury

papers of 1984, 1987, and 1990 presented to the incoming Fourth Labour Government, and then to the incoming National Government, provided a monetarist critique of New Zealand's economic performance and crisis (Roper, 1993). While Treasury acknowledged that world economic decline and unfavourable terms of trade negatively impacted upon New Zealand, the Treasury argued New Zealand's continued poor performance throughout the 1970s and early 1980s was a result of macro-level government intervention in the allocation of resources (Roper, 1993). They argued that the expansionary fiscal and monetary polices adopted by the National Government during 1975 to 1984 led to continued unemployment, high inflation, balance of payments deficits, insufficient savings and investment, and lower standards of living (The Treasury, 1984).

In turn, Treasury pointed out that the macro-level government intervention produced micro-level causes for New Zealand's poor economic performance throughout the 1970s and 1980s (The Treasury, 1990, 1987, 1987a, 1984). Roper (1993) summarises these micro-level causes as including:

> (i) over-protection of the economy which led to the misallocation of resources away from internationally competitive export-orientated sectors; (ii) excessive regulation of the financial sector and capital movements; (iii) rigidities in the labour market ('excessively powerful' occupational trade unions, national awards, 'compulsory' unionism, and so forth) which prevented real wages from being sufficiently flexible downwards and sufficiently sensitive to changes in productivity and profitability at the enterprise level; (iv) an excessively large inefficient public sector; (v) high marginal tax rates which had a negative impact on savings, investment, productivity, employment, and output; (vi) excessive regulation of business in the areas of environmental protection, equality of opportunity, and consumer protection (p. 7-8).

Thus, from Treasury's perspective, government intervention during the 1970s and early 1980s prevented New Zealand from responding adequately to external shocks. For Treasury, economic growth would require monetary disinflationary policy, market liberalisation, and a redesign of the welfare state (Roper, 1993). Treasury found support initially in the incoming Fourth Labour Government and then with the incoming Fourth National Government. Of significance, Roger Douglas and then Ruth Richardson (finance ministers of the Fourth Labour and the subsequent National

Government) held views similar to those expressed by Treasury. Pawson et al. (1996) suggest how the implementation of neo-liberalism occurred in three phases throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. These are public service reform during 1984 to 1987, privatisation between 1988 and 1990, and social spending reforms beginning in 1989. Labour market reforms began in 1991.

Pawson et al. (1996) suggest the public service reforms were in response to the 1984 and 1987 Treasury briefing papers. Treasury viewed the commercial and public service objectives of the state sector as inefficient and advised reform based on market principles. Three key pieces of legislation were introduced to achieve public sector reform. The State-Owned Enterprises Act of 1986 enabled the conversion of public trading enterprises into businesses or State Owned Enterprises (SOEs). This legislation required public businesses or SOEs to trade as profitably and as efficiently as private sector business. The outcome of this legislation enabled the corporatisation of the New Zealand state sector through the creation of SOEs. The introduction of SOEs in 1987 led to wide scale redundancies, continued downsizing and the closure of services throughout New Zealand. In employment terms, Pawson et al., note that immediately prior to the creation of SOEs the six largest government departments employed over 66,000 workers. By 1994, these same SOEs or their privatised successors employed 25,000. Relatively small departments and ministries were to perform the remaining state functions. The State Sector Commission (1993) described these departments as "core public services" that are "sufficient to carry out those functions which for fundamental reasons cannot be corporatised or purchased from other Crown entities or the private sector" (p. 7).

The State Sector Act of 1988 required non-trading government services to introduce objectives and become accountable in a similar way to businesses (Pawson et al., 1996). This Act provided greater flexibility and autonomy for decisions made within the remaining government departments, at the same time increased accountability for results achieved as set out in contracts and purchase agreements between departments and the government. Initial outcomes were viewed as beneficial in terms of economic

return, yet by the 1990s, these policies were criticised for the social costs associated with reform and the organisational costs in terms of lost knowledge (Cheyne, 2000).

The Public Finance Act of 1989 also increased the responsibility of government departments to perform along notions of narrowly defined economic efficiency by linking state financial provision to the creation of measurable outputs and assessable outcomes (Cheyne, 2000; Pawson et al., 1996). Under this Act government departments are required to produce financial accounts that set out statements of objectives, service performance, cashflows and financial position. The objectives of departments are defined in purchasing agreements with the associated Ministry. Department objectives are designed to align with the desired outcomes of the Ministry. Cheyne et al. (2000) suggest this new form of accountability might limit the type of policy advice given, to reflect the concerns of the current government and not necessarily the concerns that policy advisors become aware of in their capacity of delivery.

The second phase of initiatives described by Pawson et al., focused on privatising state assets, beginning in 1988 and peaking in 1990. In response to 1987 Treasury briefing papers and in contradiction to their election promises, the Labour Government began selling state-owned assets in 1987. This programme continued under the 1990 National Government. Since 1984 both Labour- and National-led Governments have sold to foreign owners, indicating their withdrawal of commitment to state control of what were once considered strategic assets (Pawson et al., 1996). The assets sold included the telecommunication network, the Bank of New Zealand, the railways, and the postal service. Funds from the sales were expected to offset fiscal deficits. Yet, government expenditure increased in the decade 1979 to 1989 from 35.5 to 42.5% of GDP. Spending increased on debt servicing and social transfers as the economy stagnated and unemployment rose (Pawson et al., 1996).

The third group of initiatives focused on reforming welfare policies. This included reform in the health sector, public housing, education, and welfare payment provision

(Cheyne et al., 2000; Kelsey, 1995; Pawson, 1996). These reforms were based on the belief that an application of the competitive market model to public service provision would improve financial efficiency and accountability of various departments. Health reforms resulted in the closure of smaller regional hospitals. Housing reforms saw the introduction of market rents on state housing stock, the introduction of a targeted accommodation supplement, the creation of Housing New Zealand to run as a commercial enterprise, and the sale of state mortgages at market rates (Pawson et al., 1996). Changes to the Accident Compensation Corporation were included in these reforms (Kelsey, 1995). Initially Accident Compensation Corporation was set up to provide no-fault injury coverage for New Zealand citizens and was fully funded through government, employers, vehicle registration fees, and taxation (Cheyne et al., 2000; Kelsey, 1995). By 1984, pressure from employer groups resulted in the commitment to the fully-funded Accident Compensation Corporation to be abandoned (Kelsey, 1995). Since 1987 and throughout the 1990s pressure from Treasury, the Business Round Table and the Employers Federation led to the changes in the coverage that the Accident Compensation Corporation provided. The notion of community responsibility to fund personal injury was deemed to not fit well with government reforms that focused on individual responsibility (Kelsey, 1995). Throughout the 1990s changes to Accident Compensation Corporation eventually led to its privatisation in 1999, whereby the provision of accident insurance was considered to be a market commodity (Cheyne et al., 2000). This was reversed by the in-coming Labour Government in 2000.

Changes to welfare payment provision have included the introduction of surcharges on superannuation, reduced unemployment and Domestic Purpose Benefits (welfare payments for single parents), the abolishment of Universal Family Benefit, and the introduction of targeted student allowances for tertiary students (Rudd, 1997). These measures were designed to address the growing cost of welfare provision during the 1980s, and what Treasury viewed as state dependency (Pawson et al., 1996). This state dependency was seen to have developed as a result of welfare payments being too high thus acting as a disincentive to seek employment.

Treasury advised the Labour Government in the 1984 and 1987 papers to deregulate the labour market. However, it was the 1990 National Government that addressed labour market reform consistent with Treasury advice in the form of the Employment Contracts Act 1991 (ECA). The introduction of the ECA repealed the Employment Equity Act 1990 that sought to address among other things, pay equity between male and female workers. The aims of the ECA was to allow for individual contract negotiation between employers and employees, remove compulsory union membership, allow for enterprise level bargaining, and to create a more 'flexible' labour market (Dannin, 1997; Kelsey, 1995, Walsh, 1992). Many argue the result of the ECA has been to strengthen employer power of employees, leading to downward pressure on incomes, insecure employment, and substantial undermining of unions (Dannin, 1997; Kelsey, 1995; Walsh, 1992). It has also been argued that the downward pressure on incomes since the introduction of the ECA has effectively closed the gap between low incomes from paid employment and the decreased welfare payment entitlements. In turn, this has eliminated any supposed incentive for the unemployed to seek employment as envisioned by proponents of decreased welfare provision (Dannin, 1997; Kelsey, 1995; Rudd, 1997).

While New Zealand, Britain and the United States introduced the most radical, wide-reaching and rapid forms of neo-liberalism (Pawson et al., 1996; Perkin, 1996) by the 1990s many other nations began to adopt similar policies. In the pursuit of international competitiveness and economic growth many advanced industrial countries also have been quick to adopt aspects of neo-liberalism (Cerny, 1999; Crane, 1999). Free market ideology has replaced welfare state ideology in many industrialised nations, developing countries, and the Eastern Bloc and Asian economies to varying degrees (Perkin, 1996). As part of structural reform, governments have moved key economic and social activities into the private sector, introduced domestic market and trade liberalisation, reduced the size and scope of the state, focused on price stability and market access predictability, and deregulated labour markets (Cerny, 1999; Kelsey, 1997; Perkin, 1996). Many states are also restructuring what remains of their public sector to become more flexible, and

"replacing the notion of public service by financial performance indicators and the so-called new public management" (Cerny, 1999, p. 156). Spending on health, education, and welfare payments has been reduced in many countries, reflecting the individualistic consumer focus embedded in neo-liberalism (Kelsey, 1995). Thus, Kelsey suggests, the emphasis of policy legislation in many nations is to satisfy consumer demands for affordable goods, business needs for 'affordable' wages and unrestricted market access, and to satisfy international agreements through trade liberalisation policies, state deregulation and decreased social welfare safety nets. While there is no uniform adoption of neo-liberalism within nations, there does appear to be a convergence upon at least certain aspects of neo-liberalism. Aspects of this convergence and the processes occurring throughout the 1990s that have facilitated the adoption of neo-liberalism on an increasingly global scale are discussed in the following section.

2.3 The 1990s: Globalising Neo-liberalism

Giddens (1998) suggests that unlike Keynesianism:

> neoliberalism is a globalizing theory. The neo-liberals apply at world level the philosophy that guides them in their more local involvements. The world will get along best if markets are allowed to function with little or no interference (p.14).

Giddens suggests this application of neo-liberalism at the world level is frequently referred to as globalisation. The World Trade Organisation (2000), for example, suggests that liberalised international trade policies, that allow for unrestricted flows of goods, services and productive inputs, will lead to improved products at lower prices, as well as economic and job growth. The WTO argues this will occur because firms will operate under competitive advantage at the national and international level, leading to economies of scale and efficiency gains, and hence lower prices. These firms will be able to sell mass-produced goods in newly-created global mass consumer markets (WTO, 2000). The resulting economic activity is said to lead to new industries and job creation. Proponents of globalising neo-liberalism argue that subsidies and trade tariffs protect inefficient companies and enable them to continue

to supply outdated and expensive products, which then causes factory closures and permanent job loses (Sussens-Messerer, 1998; WTO, 2000).

Dohlman and Halvorson-Quevedo (1997) suggest that Third World countries also could gain by liberalising their economies and trade policies. They point out that foreign trade investment is the main mechanism for transferring innovation, technology, marketing networks, effective management practices, new production and packaging techniques, and consumer-friendly designs. These practices are thought to stimulate economic growth and facilitate participation in and access to the global market place. These theorists suggest that internal economic growth and international trade are key mechanisms to reduce Third World poverty (Dohlman & Halvorson-Quevedo, 1997; European Industrial Relations Review, 1996).

The Economist (1999) reports that because of these alleged benefits of trade liberalisation many governments consider that "opening up domestic markets is a concession to be traded for access to foreign markets" (p. 2). While there remain significant differences between the degree to which countries have adopted neo-liberalism, a convergence can be seen towards globalising neo-liberalism throughout the 1990s. The United States, New Zealand and Britain have adopted the most radical forms of global neo-liberalism. In contrast Sussens-Messerer (1998) argues that France and Germany have yet to restructure the state in similar ways. Throughout the 1990s political, economic and cultural processes have contributed to the extension of neo-liberal principles on an increasingly global scale. These processes are discussed in Sections 2.3.1, 2.3.2, and 2.3.3 respectively.

2.3.1 Political Processes

Cerny (1999) argues that political activities are integral to globalisation, as people attempt to make choices about how best to negotiate, organise and regulate the multiple processes that make up their lives. The individualised processes and negotiations and so on culminate as globalisation. The World Trade Organisation, the IMF, the World Bank, trading blocs, governments, and multinational companies all

have had political input into the reshaping of international relationships based on neo-liberal values.

The political activities within the WTO, IMF and World Bank have had a critical role in facilitating the global extension of neo-liberalism. These three institutions have committed to co-ordinate their activities "to achieve greater coherence in global economic policy-making" (Kelsey, 1999, p. 246). The WTO was created out of the 1986 to 1993 GATT Uruguay Round. Since the creation of WTO in 1994, free trade talks have extended from goods to include negotiations in free trade in services, agricultural products, and intellectual property rights protection. The WTO (1998) note the express purpose of these agreements is to help "producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business" (p. 1). The focus of WTO negotiations is to reduce or remove tariff and non-tariff barriers, reduce government support for industry and farmers, and to remove legal barriers to enable foreign service providers to sell services, set up operations, and move personnel and money between host countries and firms (Kelsey, 1999; WTO, 1999).

The WTO agreements are the outcome of confidential negotiations between governments or their representatives, and once signed become binding contracts between member nations (Kelsey, 1999; WTO, 1998). The WTO WebPages (1999) state that the rationale behind the secrecy is to prevent domestic lobby groups representing the interests of citizens (for example unions, environmentalists, non-government organisations) influencing trade negotiations based on their special interests. This approach is said to allow governments to weigh the overall benefits of trade agreements (WTO, 1999).

Although governments negotiate and sign the agreements, the goal is to help "producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business" (WTO, 1998, p. 1). As such, multinational companies, and especially those based in the USA, have lobbied their own governments to ensure their interests are represented in WTO negotiations. For example, Kelsey notes the impetus to include services in

WTO talks came from transnational companies wanting to gain free trade entry to other nations. These companies already had competitive advantages and wanted to extend this into new markets previously protected by national laws. She also suggests the impetus to introduce intellectual property rights in the Uruguay Round came from the United States Congress and American based multinational companies. The United States Government set up a committee with a coalition of 13 major American corporations to determine how such an agreement might be useful to extend their own interests (Kelsey, 1999; Wiessman, 1990).

The IMF and the World Bank have also sought to globalise neo-liberalism. Since the 1980s the IMF and World Bank have shifted focus to assist in the economic and structural development of Third World and impoverished countries, and to facilitate the movement of planned economies to market economies (Kelsey, 1999). Driscoll (1998) notes the IMF actively promotes global trade based on liberal economic policies within member nations (see IMF 1999a, b, c, d). He notes the IMF can exert 'moral' pressure on member countries to pursue liberalism. Yet, when negotiating loans, the IMF may require borrower nations to reduce government expenditure, tighten monetary policy, and remove structural weaknesses by "privatising inefficient public enterprises" (Driscoll, 1998, p. 11). The IMF and the World Bank have joined forces to develop an integrated approach to what they claim will facilitate poverty reduction in the poorest nations through liberalising their economies (IMF, 1999d).

The premise of the World Bank Group (2000c) is that developing nations could reduce poverty by attracting private investment. The World Bank advocates that poor nations attract private investment by developing infrastructure and technology bases, implement laws that enforce contractual obligations and recognise property rights, create local capital markets and banking institutions, and introduce liberal economic reform. The World Bank provides technical and financial assistance to implement reform that addresses budget deficits, inflation, liberalisation of trade and investment, the privatisation of public-enterprises, and the strengthening of judicial systems and property rights (The World Bank Group, 2000c, p. 3).

Multinational companies have also pressured poorer nations to adopt internal liberal economic policies and to support the introduction of services and intellectual property rights within free trade agreements (Kelsey, 1999; Perkin, 1996). Kelsey (1999) notes that initially poorer nations argued against free trade in services entering WTO trade talks because they believed it would result in international control of their domestic service provision, and reduce their ability to develop skills necessary for service industries. Poorer nations also held that the liberalisation of intellectual property rights would result in the transferring of money from their economies directly to multinational companies (Kelsey, 1999). However, developing countries might be forced to accept free trade in services, including health provision and water supply, as multinational companies and foreign aid fund providers threaten to withdraw investment and aid funding (Kelsey, 1999; New Statesman, 2001).

The strength of multinational companies to pressure their own and other nation state governments to implement economic and social infrastructures that meet company needs has grown significantly in the last 20 years (Perkin, 1996). This power is in part due to their financial strength, which for some corporations is greater than many nation states' GDP (Mander, 1996). Multinational companies have restructured, downsized and moved operations to countries offering inducements such as "free land, ready-built infrastructure, and tax holidays" (Perkin, 1996, p. 185), the repatriation of profits, and the provision of relatively inexpensive and trained labour forces (Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980). However, Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) argue that multinational companies take out more from host countries than they put back in the form of wages and taxes. Indeed, they also note, nation states and whole regions can become dependent on multinational presence once the companies are established.

Political activities between nations have also focused on creating regional alliances and trading blocs. Significant regional organisations and agreements include the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Asia Pacific Economic Community (APEC). The two most significant trading blocs created are the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the European

Union (EU). The Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement created a free trade block between New Zealand and Australia. Membership to these organisations is based primarily on geographic location. These trading blocs seek to enhance free trade between member nations, to varying degrees. While the degree of liberalism differs between trading blocs, alliances, and member nations, the underlying philosophy remains the same: that of liberalising trade and domestic policies.

One outcome of the combined political activities of multinational companies, the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and regional trading blocs and alliances is the development of a global institutional framework that is gaining influence in setting the rules of trade and participation in the global arena. According to Cerny (1999) nation state level organisations attempt to develop economic, social and cultural systems, structures and processes that align their activities and interests with those developed at the international level. As a result, Crane (1999) argues, state departments involved in international economic policy begin to gain more power over others, and through their collective global meetings they begin to homogenize state policies. Washington (1996) holds that governments are increasingly losing control of internal policy agendas because of international economic conditions, pressure groups, the media, and multinational corporations. In harmony with this, more and more nations are restructuring their policies, legal frameworks and institutions along neo-liberal sentiments. The co-emergence of contemporary career management and development discourse, theory and practice throughout this period is the subject of this thesis. The homogenization of state policy is increasingly based around concerns for economic growth and international competitiveness. The economic processes associated with increased global neo-liberalism are discussed in the following section.

2.3.2 Economic Processes of Global Neo-liberalism

Nevile and Saunders (1998) note that globalisation has been a major theme in economic writing throughout the 1990s. They define globalisation in an economic sense as "the increasing interdependence among national economies, even the integration of those economies, which is largely due to the revolution in information

and communication technologies" (p. 1). Ceglowski (1998) argues that "explicit government actions to lower tariffs and other artificial barriers to the international movement of goods, services, and inputs" (p. 2) are linked with this international economic integration. Through liberalising policies, nation states have facilitated the growth in global goods and service trade, global financial markets, and an increase in the use of international manufacturing and labour markets (Ceglowski, 1998; Cerny, 1999; Giddens, 1998; Perkin, 1996; Watson, 1999). These issues are discussed below.

2.3.2.1 The Growth in International Goods and Services Trade

Giddens (1998) notes that while most goods trade is at the regional level, there is an upward trend in international trade. He notes that these trends include an increase in international trade as a percentage of GDP, greater variety of goods and services traded internationally, and more countries are involved in international trade than at any other point in time (Giddens, 1998). Further, as Perkin (1996) illustrates, there is a trend of fewer but larger multinational corporations owning most of the world's business, trade and subsequent profits. He notes:

> the largest 100 manufacturing companies in 1909 produced 15 per cent of the output; by 1930 they produced 26 per cent; by 1970 45 per cent. Today the largest 200 firms produce about 85 per cent of total manufacturing output. Much the same is true of services: six supermarket chains sell two thirds of the food sold over the counter; four high street banks account for most deposit banking; a dozen insurance firms dominate their market. The wave of mergers and takeovers since 1957 increased the stock valuation of the 100 largest quoted companies from 60 per cent to over 90 per cent in total (p. 18).

These multinational companies account for the majority of international trade. Between them they manufacture, import and export a large share of the worlds commodities, including, for some, the export of pollution and waste products (Perkin, 1996). Mander (1996) points out many global markets are dominated by five companies:

> Five companies now control more than 50 percent of the global market in the following industries: consumer durables, automotive, airlines, aerospace, electronic components, electricity and electronics, and steel. Five corporations control more than 40 percent of the global market in oil, personal computers, and – especially alarming in its consequences for public

> debate – media. These companies and others like them are the true beneficiaries of the global economy (p. 18).

Porter (1990) argues industries "globalise because shifts in technology, buyer needs, government policy or country infrastructure create major differences in competitive position among companies from different nations or make the advantages of a global strategy more significant" (Porter, 1990, p. 63). Porter makes a distinction between multi-domestic industries and global industries. For him, multi-domestic industries compete on a nation-by-nation basis, where competitive advantage is restricted to the operations within each particular country. In contrast, he suggests, the competitive position for global industry affects and is affected by the competitive position held in each nation of operation. Porter (1990) maintains that in global industries:

> rivals compete against each other on a truly worldwide basis, drawing on competitive advantages created at their home base with others that result from a presence in many nations, such as economies of scale, the ability to serve multinational customers, and a transferable brand reputation (p. 53)

However, Morgan (1992) suggests that to take advantage of economies of scale and be economically viable, a global strategy requires creating international market segments for homogenised products. Thus, Morgan suggests, the growth in international markets is underpinned by the creation of a world-wide homogenisation of tastes and preferences for goods, leading to the standardisation of products and associated manufacturing processes. Yet, Morgan notes, these international market segments become susceptible to global competition especially on price. Levitt (1983) suggests that the creation of homogenised demand for products is a dynamic process where organisations help create and respond to such preferences. These issues are discussed further in Section 2.3.3. While there has been a rise in international trade in goods and services, there has been an exponential increase in international financial market activity as discussed below.

2.3.2.2 The Growth in International Financial Markets

The increase in global financial market activity has been made possible by liberalisation policies (as already discussed), technological advances, and changing consumer preferences. Giddens, (1998) notes that:

> a trillion dollars a day is turned over in currency exchange transactions. The proportion of financial exchanges in relation to trade has grown by a factor of five over the past fifteen years. Disconnected capital – institutionally managed money – has increased by 1100 per cent on a world scale since 1970 in proportion to other forms of capital (p. 30).

Governments have funded international telecommunication links and the initial stages of the Internet (Giddens, 1998). The resulting information and communication technologies have facilitated the rise in global financial trading by linking institutions and professionals around the world with international transactions occurring on a real time basis (Giddens, 1998; Nevile & Saunders, 1998; Perkin, 1996).

Underpinning trade liberalisation in finance and technological advances is a growing consumer willingness to invest in international financial markets. Morgan (1992) points out that traditionally investors have sought financial security, preferring deposit banking and insurance products. Since the 1980s the trend has been a preference to invest in more speculative financial products. Morgan suggests this shift in preferences can be linked to growing individualism and the changing notion of personal success during the 1980s in the United Kingdom. At this time, Morgan (1992) suggests, material wealth became a reflection of personal success, stimulating investors to tap "into wider processes of wealth formation, that is ownership of the right stocks and shares, investment in the right deposit banks, purchase of the right insurance policies, etc" (p. 7). To increase personal wealth, individuals are becoming more willing to invest their money in the shares of global businesses.

The growing willingness of individuals to invest in global business is indicated by the international trend of the increased worth in managed pension funds that are invested on the stock exchange (Kasemir, Suess & Zehnder, 2001). Kasemir et al. note that managed pensions funds had accumulated to a worth of $9 trillion in the United States by 1998. In 2000 the combined worth of pension funds in Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland was $2.3 trillion. They note that the majority of managed pension funds within the United States and Britain are invested in the stock exchange. As early as 1991 managed pension funds owned approximately one-third of the assets

traded on the London stock exchange, and 25% of all stocks in the United States. In contrast, they point out that other European nations, for example Switzerland, France, and Germany still invest pension funds in bonds and real estate. Yet, they note that in response to global trends these nations are considering divesting managed pension funds towards share market investment options. The significance of this is that within the framework of globalisation, even small wage earners appear to have a vested interest in the maximisation of profit on the share market even when the achievement of profit maximisation may place pressure on their income from wages. They might be personally vulnerable to job loss, decreased wages, and work conditions as a result of increased globalisation of manufacturing and labour markets (as discussed in the following section).

Watson (1999) suggests that changing financial investment preferences have also been stimulated by the liberalised global financial market. He notes that as a result of liberalisation, the transaction costs of investing in short-term liquid assets has affected the preferences of capital holders. There is an incentive for investors to "liquidate long-term productive assets in order to release more funds for financial investments" (Watson, 1999, p. 57-58). As a result of investors diversifying from capital investment toward speculative financial markets, insufficient funds are available for productive capital, leading to a productive capital shortage. This creates the circumstances that lead to reduced employment conditions as businesses turn to the conditions of labour to cut costs and improve profits (Watson, 1999). However, other theorists believe the spatial mobility of finance and profit motives have facilitated the growth in the globalisation of manufacturing and labour markets, as discussed in the next section.

2.3.2.3 The Globalisation of Manufacturing and Labour Markets

Along with the rise in investment in global financial capital, investment in offshore physical capital and labour has also risen. As Perkin (1996) notes, multinational corporations own "factories, mines, oil fields, banks, plantations, agribusinesses, and sales outlets in many countries, and have turnovers larger than the Gross National Product of most member states of the United Nations" (p. 19). He points out that

investment in offshore manufacturing capital has resulted in 25% of American, 15% of Germany's, and 10% of Japan's manufacturing being done abroad (Perkin, 1996). Reich (1992) observes that because of global manufacturing processes, it is often difficult to determine the country of origin of manufactured products. Goods as diverse as ice hockey equipment, alloys, film, cars, aeroplanes and satellites might be designed in one country, financed by another, components made in yet others, and assembled, marketed and distributed in different countries again. Offshore manufacturing plants might provide access to foreign markets, cost incentives (as already discussed), and cheaper labour (Perkin, 1996; Reich, 1992).

Perkin (1996) points out that the world economy "is now dominated by 37,500 transnational corporations (TNCs), which between them control 207,000 foreign affiliates. Nine out of ten are based in the developed countries of North America, Europe, and Japan" (p. 184). These companies employ about 150 million (or one in five) of the world's non-agricultural workers, nearly half as direct employees, the remainder indirectly employed through subcontractors, franchises and tied suppliers (Perkin, 1996). Sassen (1996) argues that many sectors affected by globalisation are low profit, often with low paid and manual jobs held by women and immigrants. However, international labour outsourcing is not confined to manual or low pay jobs. As Reich (1992) illustrates, American companies outsource service work internationally. American Airlines flight data is entered into the Dallas computer bank by data processors in Barbados and the Dominion Republic; R.R. Donnelly, a Chicago-based publisher sends manuscripts to Barbados for entry into computers; New York Life Insurance claims are processed in Ireland. American-owned corporations also employ international scientists, and research and development staff, with many 'American' breakthroughs being made by international staff.

In New Zealand, reduced subsides and trade tariffs throughout the 1980s and 1990s have increased international competition for the New Zealand manufacturing sector (Blumenfeld, Crawford, & Walsh, 1999; Kelsey, 1995) resulting in some firms locating offshore, or to firm closure. In contrast, New Zealand's deregulated economy

and relatively low wage structure has attracted foreign investment in service areas, for example, the creation of international call centres operating out of New Zealand (Hepburn, 2001; Morrison, 2000). While employees in the host countries gain jobs, displaced workers are increasingly de-unionised with eroding pay and work conditions (Reich, 1992).

Sussens-Messerer (1998) argues that countries that have failed to "adapt their social policies to 'hard-capitalism'" are experiencing economic growth without increases in jobs (p. 1). She notes rather than deregulating and liberalising their economies, most European countries have sought to create "'alliances for jobs' between government, unions, and management", focusing "on job-sharing, cutting overtime, shorter working weeks and giving companies incentives not to rationalise" (Sussens-Messerer, 1998, p. 2). According to her, these factory alliances have only worked when employees gave up a variety of conditions of service to maintain their own employment. She argues that the European countries that have not liberalised their markets, moved to competition-based structures, nor reformed social and tax policy will fail to recover economically. She points out that large European businesses are taking advantage of globalisation by contracting out once in-house services and labour intensive manufacturing abroad. The remaining European industries are increasingly hi-tech requiring small but highly qualified staff and unskilled European workers may be faced with entrenched unemployment. In contrast:

> Those European countries which have reformed their social market models also saw job growths: Ireland improved unemployment from a high point of 16.9% in 1985 to 9.8% in December 1997; Denmark saw a reduction from 11.1% in 1983 to 5.7% today; Holland from 9.7% in 1983 to 4.6 % today; and Britain from 11.5% in 1985 to 6.6 % now (Sussens-Messerer, 1998, p. 3).

Yet, despite reduction in unemployment for some countries, the increased use of international labour forces in the last two decades reflects Clegg and Dunkerley's earlier argument (1980) that "in effect the multi-national corporation has produced an international division of labour which is based upon international product differentiation" (p. 387). While there have been significant political and economic changes facilitating the expansion of neo-liberalism, such a system requires a different

sort or type of person than that required under the Keynesian system of organising international political and economic relationships. Neo-liberalism requires the adherence to different types of values and attitudes; different ways of conceiving of and practising one's job and career; and a different way to conceive of one's self. Indeed it requires a different type of person. Cultural processes that underpin globalising neo-liberalism facilitate the re-conception of the self and are discussed in the next section.

2.3.3 Globalisation as a Cultural Process

As well as the significant political and economic dimensions of globalisation, associated cultural processes are also extremely pertinent to my analysis of emerging career theories and practices. In this section I discuss the literature on global cultural processes and espoused cultural changes. This discussion is extended in Chapter Three and Chapter Four where I argue that the emerging political and economic processes and changing employment patterns requires a particular sort of person, and that career theory can be viewed as a process contributing to the re-fabrication of individuality or personhood in quite specific ways.

Cerny (1999) suggests that within the system of globalisation it becomes increasingly difficult for people to perceive their identity as citizens of a nation-state. Homogenous norms, values and beliefs are replacing once territorial cultural identities. Crane (1999) believes this homogeneity is developed as "national myths are weakened from above, as new ideas and images pour in from other places, and from below, as individuals struggle to situate themselves meaningfully within the riotous proliferation of cultural symbols" (p. 4). Giddens (1998) argues it is the fostering and development of 'individualism' that "is associated with the retreat of tradition and custom from our lives, a phenomenon involved with the impact of globalization widely conceived rather than just the influence of markets" (p. 36).

Perkin (1996) links the origins of Anglo-American individualism to the work of Friedrich von Hayek. Von Hayek made a distinction between what he viewed to be

'fundamental law' and laws made by government defining rules of behaviour. He believed that under the codes of fundamental law people naturally take advantage of opportunity for personal gain and have the right to the resulting proceeds. For him, state intervention or government laws interfere with this 'fundamental' right. Consistent with this view of individualism is the notion that social justice and the allocation of society's resources ought to be left to market forces. Thus for example taxing the rich to fund the poor is seen as self-defeating. Perkin (1996) explains the assumptions of individuality embedded in this view:

> the poor are victims of their own inadequacy and not of the system, and welfare will only encourage them to be idle and to breed, and so increase their poverty. The rich see themselves as the benefactors of society: the more they consume, the more good they do to the rest by providing work and income (p. 191).

It is these values of individualism that underpin the globalisation of neo-liberalism. Crane (1999) argues the individualistic values embedded in the current form and direction of globalisation is eclipsing the socialising values that underpinned Keynesianism. He suggests under Keynesian management:

> the political incorporation of the working class required the construction of a sense of economic citizenship. The state had to take responsibility for minimal welfare in order to ensure the national loyalty of workers. The ensuing expansion of welfare and protectionist polices 'socialized' the nation. By contrast, globalization poses new challenges to state managers, forces that cannot be addressed by a territorially confined welfarism or socialism. The nation must be redefined to attract global capital and satisfy domestic techno-elites (p. 12).

Increasingly, in the context of neo-liberalism, the role of the state is defined as facilitator of business interest. Perkin, (1996) suggest in this new role, public service and social cohesion are sacrificed to principles of self-interest, social justice is left up to the market, and social reform or moral progress is considered self-defeating. In harmony with this, the state requires a different form of human being, one that accepts their role as an atomised self-interested individual with a duty to provide for their own well-being. The complex processes that have been associated with re-fabricating human beings in this fashion are discussed in Chapter Four.

Neo-liberalism has not been uniformly adopted on a global scale, however the following sections of this chapter discuss the evidence that suggests there is a convergence around neo-liberal values in constructing national and international policy initiatives. While advocates of neo-liberalism point out this system will provide far-reaching benefits to individuals and hence communities and nation states, not all commentators are so convinced. The next section critically reviews the arguments put forth by the proponents of global neo-liberalism. These critics argue that the implications of global neo-liberalism to date fall short of the promised outcomes made by its proponents, and fall very short of ideas of social justice and the good society proposed by others.

2.4 Implications of Global Neo-liberal Capitalism

While advocates of global neo-liberalism proclaim that economic growth, employment, affordable quality goods and services, and world reduction in poverty will result from their preferred system, not all commentators are so convinced. In the past decade systematic opposition to global neo-liberalism has occurred at free trade summits. Protestors have rallied at meetings held by the WTO, NAFTA, and APEC. Nearly 30,000 protesters gathered at the 2001 NAFTA summit held in Quebec (The Associated Press, 2001). More than 100,000 protestors gathered at the 1999 WTO Seattle Summit, and simultaneous protests occurred in London involving about 2,000 protestors (Anderson, 1999; Dube, 1999; The Economist, 1999a; Kelland, 1999). The Seattle protestors represented about 1,000 different groups, including trade unionists, environmentalists, aid lobbyists, consumer-rights campaigners, and human-rights activists (The Economist, 1999a). While many of these groups represent legitimate citizen interests, the media representation of their protests facilitated general tolerance of their forced dispersal using state funding.

Official response to the Seattle protests included riot police using tear gas, pepper spray, and batons to control protestors; the banning of gas masks; the imposition of an overnight curfew; and the introduction of a zero-tolerance strategy incorporating the cordoning of off a fifty block area around the WTO conference site. More than 400

people were arrested and a state of emergency was declared with 200 unarmed members of the National Guard called in to help manage the protests (Dube, 1999). The police response to the Quebec protests was similar, with the use of tear gas, water cannons, and rubber bullets (The Associated Press, 2001). Some WTO delegates supported the right to protest but disapproved of some methods used; others believed host city officials should have prevented the protests as there were warnings they would occur (Dube, 1999).

The response from the WTO Director General, Mike Moore, was to provide explanations of and to promote the purpose of the WTO more clearly and to open up dialogue with concerned citizens. In his July 2001 opening speech Moore acknowledges citizen rights to knowledge yet rejects the 'right' of what he calls 'anti-globalisation' groups to express their perspectives. Indeed, he invites NGOs to distance themselves from protestors and to engage in meaningful dialogue with the WTO. In that same speech, Moore proposes the following code of conduct for achieving dialogue between the WTO and NGOs:

- Rejection of violence
- Transparency from NGOs as to their members, their finances, their rules of decision-making
- Governments, business and foundations should insist on rules of transparency and adhere to an agreed 'code', before they provide funding (p. 3)

Effectively, Moore offers NGOs the 'right' to transparency and participation in the process if they follow certain rules, but excludes their involvement in negotiating WTO agreements. If such a code was established, failure to follow the code of conduct could conceivably result in the withdrawal of government funding from the NGOs.

While protests have not stopped international free trade talks, they are an indication of the growing opposition to global neo-liberalism (Dube, 1999a), and appear to be influencing the discussion of free trade talks. For example, Moore (2001) suggests that in light of the growing citizen concern about globalisation, the WTO needs to better inform the public about the benefits of globalisation and work more closely

with NGOs in the future. Green (1993) argues that demonstrations, strikes and occupations are the "moments of the creative democratic process" (p. 15). While these actions might not bring about instant change, Green suggests that these forms of protest might lead to change at some later point. Protestors are concerned about the negative implications of global free trade (The Economist, 1999a; Global Trade Watch, 1998; Kuttner, 2001). They point to the loss of national sovereignty, the changing nature of democracy, global redistribution of wealth and employment, the feminisation of work and poverty, and the effect of global trade on indigenous people's rights. These concerns are discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.4.1 Reshaping the Governance of Nations

As early as 1977 McCullough and Shannon predict that in a world economy governments might not be the most significant organising feature. They suggest that new "alignments and power blocs continuously emerge and it is these which globally determine the organization of organizations" (as cited in Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980, p. 461). The creation of the WTO, and regional trading blocs and alignments (such as NAFTA, OECD, and EU), and the practices of multinational companies indicate the development of such new alignments and power blocs. Some argue these alignments are leading to borderless states. Ceglowski (1998) summarizes this view:

> A truly borderless world would place great limits on the ability both to confine the effects of domestic economic policy within national borders and to insulate countries from foreign economic shocks. In such a world, financial capital, production activities, and even workers could move in response to better opportunities elsewhere in the world almost as easily as they could within a given country, thereby undermining efforts to maintain economic or financial conditions at home (p.1).

However, Giddens (1998) argues that the notion of a truly borderless state is extreme. Instead he suggests globalisation is altering the shape and governance of nations. For him globalisation:

> 'pulls away' from the nation-state in the sense that some powers, including those that underlay Kenyesian economic management, have been weakened. However, globalisation also 'pushes down' – it creates new demands and also new possibilities for regenerating local identities (p. 31).

Giddens also suggests globalisation "squeezes sideways, creating new economic and cultural regions that sometimes cross-cut the boundaries of nation-states" (p. 32). Giddens maintains the combination of these 'pulls', 'pushes' and 'squeezes' affects the global position and power of nations where some nations gain more power than others. He suggests that despite these concerns governments retain considerable governance, and economic and political power over citizens.

Not all writers are so optimistic. For example, Washington (1996) argues participation in international organisations "or the adoption of international agreements" is in effect a voluntary pooling of sovereignty which "further reduces room for maneuver, perhaps even requiring modifications in long term domestic policies" (p. 1). He goes so far as to say:

> Governments have progressively lost control over national policy agendas. Decisions on monetary and fiscal policy are hostage to international economic conditions, including the unpredictable modifications in long-standing domestic policies. Employment and welfare policies have implications for international competitiveness. And national and international interest-groups, the media, and multinational enterprises all influence the demands made of governments and the options available to them (1996, p. 1).

These national agendas are frequently being redesigned to embrace neo-liberalism, supporting the interests of business over citizen well-being. Yet, Cerny argues that at the same time governments are expected to decrease market interference they are expected to increase protectionist legislation for capital. Cerny (1999) explains:

> Whether enacting and enforcing new insider trading laws, imposing welfare-to-work schemes, giving greater independence to central banks, or whatever, the competition state does not merely deregulate or liberalise: it becomes the chief policeman on behalf of the international markets (p. 160).

Deetz (1992) holds that in doing so, governments are subsidising the corporate form. (This important point will be discussed further in relation to emerging career theories and practices in Chapter Four). He also suggests that decisions affecting the well-being of society are made frequently within the confines of the corporation, with state legislation providing guidance, as opposed to criteria for conduct. He notes that non-elected corporate managers are making more and more decisions about technology,

labour, and resource use, based on narrowly defined corporate goals. Deetz argues that this is problematic in democratic societies because citizens are unable to contribute to the direction that their nations take. These implications of global neo-liberalism on democracy are discussed in the following section.

2.4.2 Neo-liberalising Democracy

Deetz (1992) suggests that many Western nations have adopted various forms of liberal democracy. Williams (1976) makes a useful distinction between the modern conceptions of socialist and liberal conceptions of democracy. He notes:

> In the socialist tradition, *democracy* continued to mean *popular power:* a state in which the interests of the majority of the people were paramount and in which these interests were practically exercised and controlled by the majority. In the liberal tradition *democracy* meant open election of representatives and certain conditions (*democratic rights*, such as freedom of speech) which maintained the openness of election and political argument (Williams, 1976, as cited in Green, 1993, p. 21. Emphasis in original).

Deetz (1992) contends the focus on election-day politics "grants legitimacy to contemporary social arrangements and channels social conflicts into forms of resolution, thus enabling certain social choices and suppressing other conflicts and alternative choices" (p. 46). He suggests directing attention to election-day creates the appearance that voting is an act of democratic participation, yet, at the same time the process obscures other political issues. Deetz maintains that with:

> the democracy-as-election conception, democratic communication is frequently little more than the handmaiden of the representation of private interests, rather than intrinsic to the development of community and collective choice... In the modern domination of economic over political thought, democracy has come to look far more like capitalism than capitalism like democracy (p. 46).

Government policy increasingly reflects the interests of the alignments made within the international arena, yet citizens are excluded from participating in the direction their elected leaders take in discussions held in the international arena. This makes it difficult for meaningful opposition to occur (Ehrensal, 1995; Kelsey, 1999; Washington, 1996). As already noted, discussions held within the international arena are designed to promote business interests, and citizen representatives are excluded from participating in discussions. Where protests have occurred, states have taken

swift and sometimes severe action to disperse the crowds. As Kelsey and others note, international institutions, for example WTO, NAFTA, APEC, OECD, have not established transparency and accountability policies, and continue to negotiate in secret (Kelsey, 1999; Washington, 1996). These trade agreements and the ensuing liberalised policies implemented at the national level have facilitated the growth in size and political strength of multinational companies. At the same time the trade agreements protect corporate activities and their decision making processes by defining them as 'commercially sensitive'. These decisions affect society but are not subject to the influence of the electoral system, citizens, and even governments (Deetz, 1992).

Critics of this policy to unfetter corporate activity from citizen influence argue that corporate decisions and subsequent activities made within the confines of the NAFTA trade agreement (Canada, U.S.A. and Mexico), for example, have resulted in environmental damage, the lowering of health and safety standards, human rights violations, and multinational companies suing member governments. Environmental damage has resulted from increased illegal toxic waste dumping, cross border hazardous waste transportation, and poor sewerage management leading to polluted water ways (Global Trade Watch, 1998). These practices have been implicated in the rise in waterways contaminated by hepatitis A, and fatal birth defects along the Mexican/US border. The Global Trade Watch reported human rights violations by internationally owned industries, and maquiladora factories in Mexico included unsafe and unsanitary work environments, and positive results from compulsory pregnancy tests leading to the non-hiring or firing of workers. Six American-owned corporations have sued the Canadian and Mexican governments over federal and state level environmental measures. In 1997 in an out-of-court settlement the Canadian Government was forced to retract a public health initiative by the American-owned Ethyl Corporation (Chomsky, 2001; Global Trade Watch, 1998).

One neo-liberal response to addressing public concern is offered in the guise of consumer sovereignty. Thus, it is argued, consumers actively participate in

democracy, and directly impact and control corporate decisions through their own purchasing decisions. Yet, Paterson (1999) suggests the processes and complexities of globalisation have the effect of hiding knowledge about consumption and production practices. Paterson notes that even where consumers wish to use their purchasing power to protest certain production methods or manufacturing behaviours, we could be prevented from doing so because we simply do not know where, how, and under what conditions goods are produced. Cerny (1999) argues that in this context, globalisation is more about "restricting choice to what fits with what the markets want, rather than the traditional democratic notion of what the people want" (p. 152). Further, the notion of consumer sovereignty fails to account for the growing gap between rich and poor within and between nations (discussed in Section 2.4.3). A growing sector of the global citizenship does not have the means to participate in society in this way.

Green (1993) suggests there is nothing new about this contradiction. He notes "historically, the greatest obstacle to widespread citizen equality has been the existence of social and economic inequalities that render access to democratic institutions – the vote, the press, communication with representatives, the right to organize – either difficult or meaningless" (pp. 9,10). Nor does freedom of choice as espoused by the liberal tradition take into account unequal starting points of citizens. Green (1993) notes this is one of the many contradictions of the liberal position:

> On one hand, struggles to extend the formal rights that make up the democratic process are a proud part of the [liberal] tradition. On the other hand, the capitalist revolution was equally an outcome, or a concomitant, or even the causal condition, of the rise of liberalism. But the development, in a capitalist regime, of massive and ... structured inequalities in wealth, income, and property holdings ensures that some people will have much more realistic access to rulers (p. 10).

Some argue that under global neo-liberalism these inequalities of wealth and income have been intensified through the redistribution of employment, thus further exaggerating the unequal access to the democratic process. The global redistribution of employment and wealth are discussed in the next section.

2.4.3 Global Redistribution of Employment and Wealth

The World Bank notes that at present three billion people live in poverty and as a result suffer poor health, lack of education, clean water, and insufficient food (The World Bank Group, 2000a). Proponents of global neo-liberalism argue that a global economic system based on neo-liberal principles will generate sustainable employment and lead to new generation of wealth and relieve this poverty. This new wealth, they argue, will trickle down to all members of the global society. Yet, despite their optimism, many authors point out while there may have been changes in the distribution of employment globally, this has led to a growing gap between rich and poor, both within and between nations. Perkin (1996) describes this widening gap between the rich and poor as being "the fundamental contradiction at the heart of extreme free-market theory. Far from allocating society's resources equitably, it tends to reinforce success and failure exponentially, and so to produce an even wider gap between rich and poor" (p. 192).

The economic processes described in Section 2.3.2.3 indicate that employment is being redistributed on a global scale, as multinational companies take advantage of an international labour pool of manufacturing, service, and specialised workers (Reich, 1992; Sussens-Messerer, 1998). These companies invest in countries and regions within their own territories that offer tax incentives, free land, relatively cheap yet appropriately skilled labour, and the ability to repatriate profits (Perkin, 1996; Reich, 1992). Organisations have downsized, contracted out work to national and international firms offering lower costs, and increased the use of part-time and casual workers (Ehrensal, 1995; Perkin, 1996; Watson, 1999). Perkin (1996) notes offshore relocation has resulted in reduced wages and work conditions, deskilled the labour force, and increased unemployment in some nations. Grawitzky (2000) suggests nearly 900 million worldwide are either unemployed or under-employed.

Uchitelle and Kleinfield (1996) point out that where displaced workers find replacement work, it is often at lower wages and conditions than they previously enjoyed; or as others note, in the growing yet traditionally low-waged service sectors

(Morris & Western, 1999; Perkin, 1996). Others note the threat of downsizing and contracting out to national or international firms is used to reduce the wages and conditions of remaining workers, and where they resist, redundancies have been made (Ehrensal, 1995; Global Trade Watch, 1998; Perkin, 1996; Watson, 1999). Even where employment has increased there has been pressure to contain low wages (The Economist, 2000). The result of these practices has been linked to the growing inequality of income between and within nations.

Mander (1996) and Chomsky (2001) note the gap between the richest and poorest nations has doubled since 1960. In 1960 the top 20% of the worlds population earned 30 times more than the bottom 20%, now they earn 60 times more than the bottom 20%. Mander (1996) illustrates the magnitude of the income gap between rich and poor countries where "the twenty per cent of the worlds population who live in the richest countries receive 82.7 percent of the worlds income...the poorest 20 percent...survive on 1.4 percent of the total income" (pp. 16-17). Chomsky (2001) points out that resource transfers from poor to rich countries has amounted to more than $400 billion in the 1982 to 1990 period alone. However, Mander suggests these figures do not illustrate the magnitude of global income inequality because they are based on average national incomes. He points out the top 20% of the world's richest people earn 140 times more than the poorest 20% percent of the world's population, and that currently there are 350 billionaires with a combined net worth equivalent to the annual income of 45% of the world's population.

After more than a decade of introducing global neo-liberalism, countries as diverse as the United States (McNicol, 2000), Venezuela (Gutkin, 2000), India (Dhume, 2001), Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chile (Gonzalez, 2001), and New Zealand (Kelsey, 1995) have experienced a widening of the gap between their richest and poorest citizens. These income gaps have been attributed to increased unemployment, employment growth in low pay industries, increased use of outsourcing (to be discussed in Chapter Three), downward pressure on incomes, and disproportionate allocation of wealth.

Morris and Western (1999) analyse American wage trends between 1973 and 1996 to establish when wage differentials began to occur within the United States. The authors found the real earnings of those in the lowest decile began to fall 'precipitously' during the 1980s and continued to decline in the 1990s; by 1996 their real earnings had dropped about 13% since 1973. Medium incomes stagnated throughout the 1970s and 1980s and fell sharply during the 1990s, with a total decline of 10% in the 1973-1996 period. Yet, the income of the top 10% of workers rose by 10% between 1973 and 1996. Kossek, Huber-Yoder, Castellino and Lerner (1997) note the growing gap between rich and poor has resulted in America recording the highest poverty levels since the 1940s. In their comparative study (1997) they found the poverty rate in America:

> is around 13 percent, nearly double those of Canada and Australia (7 percent), more than double those of France and the United Kingdom (5 percent), and more than three times those of Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands (4 percent or less) (p. 77).

This poverty growth is occurring even though the United States has the highest GNP among the 15 most industrialised nations and has been experiencing economic and job growth in the latter part of the 1990s (The Economist, 2000; World Trade Watch, 1998). The Economist (2000) celebrates the maintenance of low wages during the economic boom in the United States, and in part attributes this to wage stagnation, increases in the number of workers earning minimum wages, and welfare-to-work schemes that force single women with children back into the workforce, thus expanding the workforce. The Global Trade Watch attributes 39% of this increased wage inequality within the United States to the NAFTA agreement.

The Global Trade Watch (1998) note that since the introduction of NAFTA, Mexican wages have also declined, even though worker productivity has increased. Between 1993 and 1997 there was a 20% increase in the number of workers earning less than the legal minimum wage. Working class Mexican salaries fell by 60% on 1994 levels. Maquila workers earn less than the official living wage. Sixty-five percent of the Mexican labour force are under- or unemployed. Eight million more Mexicans were pushed into poverty, bringing the 1997 poverty figure to 60% of the population

(Global Trade Watch, 1998). This trend could be repeated in other Latin American countries when the extension of NAFFTA comes into being in 2005.

Reich (1992) suggests that one way to relieve poverty created by low wages is through higher education. He believes people with a tertiary education attract higher incomes than those with a high school education. While Morris and Western (1999) support Reich's notion that educated people attract higher wages, they point out the wage premium of tertiary educated workers is a result of a fall in the real earnings of high school educated workers. They note between 1979 and 1994 "the real weekly earnings of college graduates rose by 5%, while the earnings of high school graduates fell by 20%" (Morris & Western, 1999, p 8). Kossek, et al., (1997) note that income differentials impact upon the ability of children living in poverty to gain tertiary (or any) education, thus these children are forming a new 'under-class'. As a result, Nevile and Saunders (1998) suggest, children living in poverty now who are unable to gain access to tertiary education could find future employment restricted to low-pay positions, and find themselves competing directly with lower skilled and lower paid international labour forces. The low increases in income for tertiary educated people have implications for the espoused benefits of creating knowledge economy. These benefits are said to relive poverty, yet, as indicted above, income rises of tertiary educated people has been slow over the last two decades.

Since 1984 in New Zealand, the redistribution of employment and income have followed a similar pattern to international trends. Restructuring of employment has resulted in a contraction of the more lucrative and once secure manufacturing and state sectors, with employment growth primarily in the low pay, often casualised, service sector (Pawson & Le Heron, 1996). It is argued that the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act has resulted in downward pressure on incomes for workers and an increase in the number of working poor (Pawson & Le Heron, 1996). Similarly, the welfare payment cuts and means testing as a requirement for access to state pensions introduced in 1991 have resulted in an increase in poverty (Boston, 1999). Boston notes that the impetus for welfare payment cuts was to lower

government expenditure, and to create an income gap between paid employment and welfare payments as an incentive for welfare recipients to seek paid employment. Yet, as already noted, the quality of income from employment has diminished for many sectors. The result of downward pressure on incomes has seen rises in the poverty and income gap between New Zealanders, and the increased use of foodbanks (Boston et al., 1999; Kelsey, 1995; Pawson & Le Heron, 1996).

Those living in poverty in developing and industrialised countries have difficulty accessing health care, adequate food, and safe housing (Kelsey, 1999). Thus, increased international free trade appears to be globalising what was once viewed as Third World poverty indicators. Thus Ceglowski (1998) notes through "enhancing access to labor resources and products of low-wage countries, globalization could already be stunting workers' living standards in relatively high-wage countries" (p.1). The impacts of this contemporary redistribution of work and income are exacerbated for women, as discussed in the following section.

2.4.4 Feminising Work and Poverty

It has long been established that Western and developed countries segregate women vertically and horizontally in employment (Newell, 1995). Women's average pay is around 80% of their male counterparts (Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980; Newell, 1995). Horizontal segregation sees women concentrated into a narrow range of industries and job categories that attract lower wages and are typically defined as requiring lower skills regardless of job complexity (Newell, 1995; Wickham, 1986). Vertical segregation refers to women being under-represented in senior positions within organisations (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). Where women are in senior roles, they are still often in service roles that are not as lucrative as their male counterparts, nor linked to organisational power (Calas & Smirich, 1993). Women are also concentrated in greater numbers than men in part-time work and insecure, low paid positions (Newell, 1995). Yet over the last decade, there have been contradictory trends in the position of women in employment.

There has been an increase in the number of women in managerial and more lucrative positions and this has been celebrated as an indication of the improvement of the status of women in society more generally (Hyman, 1997). Yet, Calás and Smircich (1993) suggest globalisation also has challenging implications for these women. First, many women have gained middle management positions. At this time, however, organisational restructuring has resulted in fewer middle management positions and the potential for continued gains to be made into middle management, and the conditions and rewards associated with managerial positions have declined.

Second, Calás and Smircich argue that multinational corporations often retain the strategic decision-making function at the head office, where they suggest managerial positions will continue to be held by men. Thus, they suggest, even where women gain national-level managerial positions in global companies, they will still lack the ability to make strategic decisions, and still be paid less than their male predecessors. Thus the process of decentralising certain decisions has removed direct power from these jobs, and therefore, the opportunities to develop leadership roles within many organisations.

In contradiction to the rise in women in higher positions, many other women in industrialised countries, including New Zealand, have lost their relatively well-paid manufacturing jobs, as plants relocate internationally with replacement jobs typically being in lower-paid service industries (Heron, 1996; Pawson & Le Mies, 1986; The Global Trade Watch, 1998). For other women, in teaching and nursing for example, the consequence of new contractual arrangements has seen the reduction in the advantages of traditionally shaped secure permanent part-time work. Downward pressure on incomes and loss of penal rates (Walsh, 1997), decreased welfare provision, the over-representation of women in part-time and insecure employment has resulted in a disproportionate number of women and their children living in poverty (Bianchi, 1999). This position is exacerbated for single parent women who often bear the sole burden of the cost of childcare and raising children (Hyman, 1997).

The relocation of manufacturing has affected women and their families in Third World and developing nations. Mies (1986) argues the relocation strategy of multinational companies to Third World and developing countries has been pursued because of cheap female labour available in those countries. The effects of this have been considerable for these women and their families. Often these women need to be relocated from their rural communities to industrial zones and earn poverty wages (Global Trade Watch, 1998). Their productive capacities shift from meeting the needs of their family through subsistence work to producing goods for export consumption (Waring, 1996, 1988; Mies, 1986). Exchanging subsistence work with low-wage work places even greater pressure on these women to provide for themselves and their families (Waring, 1996, 1988; Mies, 1986). The continued non-economic recognition of subsistence work of women in developed and developing nations effectively hides the contribution these women make to their families, communities and nations (Waring, 1996, 1988). Despite these concerns The World Bank continues to advocate that women's poverty will be relieved through education enabling women to participate in paid employment in the global economy (The World Bank Group, 2000c).

Mies (1986) argues that global capitalism divides women on an international scale as Western women lose their jobs to 'cheaper' Third World women. To compensate for job loss, Mies argues that western women become re-fabricated as consumers and again as mothers. Hyman (1997) notes in times of high unemployment there are suggestions that married women withdraw from paid employment and there is a renewed emphasis on the desirability of full-time mothering for women who have partners in paid employment. In contrast, Mies (1996) suggests Third World women appear not to have this level of maternal responsibility and are re-fabricated as producers of affordable goods for export. She suggests this relationship is exploitative of all women because:

> the enslavement and exploitation of one set of women is the foundation of a qualitatively different enslavement of another set of women. One is the condition as well as the consequence of the other (p. 121).

While women have been disproportionately disadvantaged under global neo-liberalism, so too have indigenous people. These issues are discussed below.

2.4.5 Disenfranchising Indigenous People

Multinational companies have sought to gain access and ownership of state owned assets and the natural resources of various nations. Access has often been granted through the co-option of local governments. Kelsey (1999) notes that in some instances governments have sold natural resources to multinational companies that were possessed through colonising land confiscation efforts. Yet once assets, land or natural resources have been transferred, indigenous people have no control over the use of their sometimes-sacred lands.

Indigenous people have protested the sale of their land in many countries. Government responses have varied, yet many have supported the rights of multinational companies to exploit resources over the rights of indigenous people to their land. As in the WTO protests in Seattle and London, governments have shown a willingness to use citizen tax funds to quell protests. Kelsey (1999) discusses in full some of the extreme actions taken by governments and multinational companies against indigenous protestors. For example, in Chile the Bosques Arauco, a subsidiary of Carter Holt Harvey, brought in private security personnel, employed armed men, established vigilante groups, and collaborated with the police to protect their interests from local protests against an alleged illegal felling of forests. Some of the protestors were seriously injured. The government response was to arrest the protestors. The civil war in Bougainville was in part triggered by over-exploitation of the Panguna mine by the Rio Tino company, without the consent of the traditional landowners and inadequate payment of royalties. The mine was shut down by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. The government response was to hire South African mercenaries to reopen the mine. The Prime Minister was forced to resign once the government action was exposed. In 1994 The Human Rights Watch Asia reported that under liberalisation there had been a rise in indigenous peoples being dispossessed from their lands and traditional ways of living with no alternative forms

of income provided. They found that governments supported the rights of companies over their citizens' human rights and suppressed communities or workers from organising meaningful protests against company activities (Bridges Weekly Trade Digest, 1999, in Kelsey, 1999).

In Nigeria, Shell Oil has been charged with devastating the homelands of the Ogoni people. Drilling has led to the pollution of waterways and traditional farmlands of the Ogoniland region. The Ogoni people now have to import food for survival as acid rain destroys their crops. Attempts by the Ogoni people to protest peacefully against Shell Oil and claim compensation for the devastation led to a military response by the Nigerian Government. Shell Oil has been accused of financially supporting the Nigerian Government's military efforts. In 1995, Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight members of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni Peoples, a peaceful human rights activists group, were executed as a result of their efforts to restrict Shell Oil's operations on their homelands (Moorehead, 1995). Moorehead notes that in 1995 Nigeria's foreign debt was $30 billion, much of it owed to the World Bank and the IMF. This level of debt has grown despite the reported gross national product earnings of $35 billion, second behind South Africa for the African continent. Yet, average income per capita is $300 per annum. There has been very few trickle-down effects for the people of the nation from the oil industry (Moorehead, 1995).

The health and safety of workers and citizens in many developing countries is compromised by the activities of multinational companies taking advantage of minimalist protection legislation. The case of Mexico has already been discussed, but similar stories can be found around the world. In India, the Union Carbide gas spill of 1985 killed hundreds and maimed thousands of workers, yet escaped liability (ARENA, 1985; Cassels, 1993; Kelsey, 1999). Nike's Asian contracting firms in Indonesia, China and Vietnam exploit local workers through below-poverty wages, physical and sexual abuse, and exposure to dangerous chemicals. The majority of these workers are women aged between 18 and 24 ("Shoes Giant", 1998). Shell Oil's preliminary exploration of the Urubamba region in Peru in the mid 1980s introduced

Western diseases such as whooping cough and influenza, causing epidemics in the local people who had no natural immunity. An estimated 50% of the population died (Critical Geography Forum, 1997). The combination of low wages and increased exportation of the food produced by developing countries to Western countries leaves many of the populations of Third World countries without access to adequate or safe food (Kelsey, 1999; Mies, 1986).

Multinational companies have also sought to gain ownership of biodiversity and collective knowledge through the World Trade Organisation agreement on Intellectual Property Rights (Kelsey, 1999). This would allow multinational companies to patent knowledge and nature for profit. Nature includes human genes, and natural medicines used by indigenous people. More than 80 countries signed a moratorium to halt further commercialisation of indigenous people's medicinal plants and human genetic material. Indigenous people's genetic material has already been collected without their knowledge or approval (Kelsey, 1999).

The concerns about the disparate outcomes that have emerged throughout the 1990s, have been supported by government created statistics in many nations. Critics of neo-liberalism have argued that governments have created the conditions for these disparate outcomes. In order to remain in power, governments, which have supported the creation of neo-liberalism, have come under pressure to address these negative social outcomes. Evidence of growing concern has prompted some governments and opposition parties in the late part of the 1990s to advocate a new response to neo-liberalism. Such a response confirms Green's (1993) suggestion that protests as a form of democratic participation could result in the creation of a new political space (as discussed earlier in this chapter). Throughout the late 1990s the popular political response to neo-liberalism has been the advocation of a 'Third Way'. Political proponents of the Third Way have acknowledged the negative social outcomes that were once the claims of radicals and argue that neo-liberalism has failed many citizens within both their own nations and globally. The Third Way as a response to neo-liberalism is discussed in the following section.

2.5 The 1990s to the Present: Establishing a Third Way

Amidst growing concern over the negative impact of neo-liberalism, politicians, academics, and social groups have advocated that a new 'third way' to managing the global political economy be created. For example, by the 1990s Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and Helen Clark (while leaders of opposition parties in The United States, Britain and New Zealand respectively) began voicing concern over social consequences as experienced in their countries throughout the 1990s. They launched what became successful election campaigns focused on greater economic, social and political inclusion of their populations. The policies that these leaders advocated have become known as the 'Third Way'. The Third Way gains its name by offering a distinction or 'path' between interventionist-styled Keynesianism and unmanaged free-market neo-liberalism. They advocate this approach may be used to address the social costs while maintaining a commitment to free trade.

Giddens (2000, 1998) notes the notion of a 'third way' is not new. He and others (e.g Rose, 2000) point out that many European countries sought a 'third way' between American-styled capitalism and Russian styled communism during the 1920s. Throughout the 1990s however, Third Way advocates purport to reclaim principles of social democracy and to redistribute economic gains to the wider community, without a return to 'big government' as stylised under Keynesian welfarism (Giddens, 1998). Giddens accepts globalisation is irreversible but argues such a system requires a different form of governance than both Keynesian and neo-liberalism. For him, Third Way politics incorporates a need to regenerate social democracy through building stronger and more active communities, government targeting of welfare provision, developing human capital through government investment, efficient government, communities sharing the burden of welfare provision with the state, and maintaining levels of individual freedom and autonomy. Thus, Giddens suggests, the Third Way represents a new form of politics that incorporates aspects of Keynesian welfare management through government providing targeted welfare provision, and neo-liberalism through endorsing individual responsibility to the community in terms of providing for the self and others, and retaining a commitment to free trade.

Teixeira (2000) notes throughout the 1980s and 1990s social democratic parties around the world began to reconsider their political manifesto for two reasons. First, to regain voting public confidence that seemed to have turned against traditional welfare state values in favour of neo-liberal sentiments. Second, these parties began to realise that a new form of governance was required in a global economy characterised by rapid technological change. The result has been for Social Democratic parties in countries as diverse as the United States of America, Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Belgium to redesign their policies in what has been broadly termed Third Way politics (Teixeira, 2000).

Early implementation of Third Way politics has been linked to the election of Bill Clinton in 1992, Tony Blair in 1995, and by 2000, of the 17 Western European democracies 13 had left or centre left governments (Teixeria, 2000). A Third Way position was adopted in New Zealand in 1999 by the incoming Labour-led coalition government. These countries differ in their specific approach to Third Way politics, yet the underlying approach is similar to that offered by Schroeder and Blair in their joint pamphlet describing Third Way politics (see Barken, 2000). In this pamphlet, Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroeder, the prime ministers of Britain and Germany respectively, promote Third Way politics as offering a new direction for European leaders trying to balance social democratic values in a global economy in the twenty first century.

Teixeira (2000) summarises the key features of Third Way politics of Blair and Schroeder as including increased "flexibility of labour, capital and product markets; restraint on public expenditures; restructuring of government programs to promote increased efficiency; development of human capital as a central responsibility of government; liberalisation of world trade; and promotion of entrepreneurship" (p. 56). Blair and Schroeder advocate stimulating economic growth through tax reduction and by boosting entrepreneurial business start-ups. Welfare is to be re-designed to stimulate the return to work by welfare recipients. They suggest that barriers to work re-entry ought to be removed, on the understanding that "the labour market needs a

low-wage sector in order to make low-skill jobs available" for those who lack skills in the global economy (Blair & Schroeder, as cited in Barkan, 2000, p. 64). They stress the importance of equality of opportunity to gain access to employment. However, equality of outcome is less desirable:

> The promotion of social justice was sometimes confused with the imposition of equality of outcome. The result was a neglect of the importance of rewarding effort and responsibility, and the association of social democracy with conformity and mediocrity rather than a celebration of creativity, diversity, and excellence. Work was burdened with ever higher costs (Blair & Schroeder, in Barkan, 2000, p. 52).

To improve equality of access to employment they argue that quality education and lifelong learning are the two key features that will enable individuals to survive in a global economy characterised by industry structural changes. With regard to the redistribution of wealth, they hold that the government role is to improve efficiency of expenditure through targeted welfare, and the role of the community is to voluntarily support government in welfare provision of those who are most vulnerable.

Many commentators note that the Third Way as espoused by Clinton, Blair and Schroeder does not represent anything new. Indeed, rather than reviving social democracy, these politicians can be seen as offering policy initiatives that are more aligned with neo-liberalism than Welfare Keynesianism (Birnbaum, 1999; Rose, 2000). Birnbaum, for example, notes that while Clinton and Blair have promoted redistribution of wealth, and improved access to education, health services and welfare payments, neither has fulfilled pre-election promises. Yet, Birnbaum notes that Britain has redistributed wealth to low-income families, enabled trade unions to organise, and budgeted for increases in health and education expenditure. In contrast the United States still has 44 million citizens without health insurance (Birnbaum, 1999; Teixeira, 2000).

In his analysis Rose (2000) suggests the Third Way represents a new technology for managing citizens through notions of recreating new values and communities. Rose suggests Third Way politics describes those who have become disenfranchised

economically and materially in terms of their exclusion from their community. Rose explains:

> The excluded are characterised as failures, lacking personal skills and competencies. In the Third Way, these are to be addressed through practices of control targeted at the excluded themselves – principally those that seek to foster or coerce the development of the personal capacities to enable access to the workplace through the labour contract. Although it increasingly frames itself in the economic vocabulary of human capital, what is at stake here is actually the work ethic (p. 7).

Blair and Schroeder clearly support this view when they claim "part-time work and low paid work are better than no work" (as cited in Barkan, 2000, p. 63). Yet, as Barkan argues, the Third Way has no programme for developing well-paid secure jobs, only a programme to 'encourage' welfare recipients to gain paid employment through welfare payment structures, and encouraging education and retraining during times of unemployment. Nor do they offer solutions to childcare issues such as quality, safety, and costs, for women workers who are being targeted for return to work. As she notes, without job creation there seems little point in re-education.

While advocates present the Third Way as a programme of change based on social democratic values, the policies adopted so far are more reflective of neo-liberalism than Keynesianism. Giddens, Blair, Schroeder, and others still emphasise globalisation through international free trade, individual responsibilities for welfare provision through employment, decreased (albeit targeted) government spending, and minimal regulation of market activity. These proponents still claim that flexible labour (see Chapter Three for a discussion on 'flexibility') and low wage sectors within the economy are crucial to continued economic well-being. Under the Third Way rebuilding a sense of community is the key to redistributing the means of survival, yet there is no comprehensive discussion on who that community is or indeed how communities that have been devastated by poverty are to help themselves. Giddens (2000) also points out that too strong a sense of community might result in the pursuit of secular (community?) interests instead of communities embracing his vision of a civil society that values diversity at the same time as providing the foundation of ethical behaviour in individuals. Indeed, Giddens vision of community

falls short of community collectivism and community-based political action that aim to create alternative ways of being, other than that proposed under the Third Way vision. Thus, for those who are concerned about the negative consequences of globalisation, the Third Way does not necessarily offer practical or ideological solutions to address their concerns. Rather, critics are suggesting the Third Way is more about political parties which were once 'left-wing', aligning themselves with 'right-wing' politics to gain political power (Faux, 1999).

2.6 Concluding Thoughts

Throughout this chapter I have argued that there has been a concerted political effort by governments and multinational corporations to create the emergence of global neo-liberalism. The disparate economic and participative outcomes, however, have come under scrutiny from groups as diverse as unionists, environmentalists, non-government organisations, and more recently, by politicians and political parties that claim to offer a Third Way. The growing popularity of Third Way politics is evidenced by the return of 'left' and 'centre-left' political parties to government in many democratic nations throughout the 1990s. Yet, while left and centre left political parties have regained political favour, many have done so by reframing what they perceive to be social justice and social democracy. Instead of viewing equality of outcome in terms of economic and material well-being, there is a greater emphasis on equality of opportunity to gain access to employment (Barkan, 2000; Teixeira, 2000). As such, Third Way politics as expressed by Clinton, Blair and Schroeder still advocate the need for free trade, minimal government expenditure and welfare provision, and a low-wage sector. These are the same goals that neo-liberal reformists sought to achieve throughout the 1980s. The continued political support of a minimum state, free trade, and low wage sectors still enable multinational corporations to exploit the 'global community' to attain narrowly defined profit agendas. This economic exploitation of the natural and human resources of the global community have contributed to the negative outcomes characteristic of global neo-liberalism as practised throughout the 1990s. The Third Way politics continue to argue that labour and market flexibility underpinned by a low wage and insecure

employment sector will lead to greater economic wealth and well-being for all. It seems unlikely that the application of the Third Way will address many, if any, of the concerns expressed by interest groups as discussed in this chapter.

In the next chapter I argue that the political and economic strategy as manifest in global neo-liberalism, and that underpins the Third Way, is based on and supportive of the structural organisational and labour strategies collectively termed 'flexibility' that emerged throughout the 1980s. The free trade agenda underpinning global neo-liberalism and the Third Way have enabled the global extension of organisational and labour flexibilities. Combined, neo-liberalism and flexibility have changed the nature, shape, and conditions of employment on an international scale. This concomitant change in employment has effected the types of careers available to us. The next chapter discusses the links between globalisation, flexibility, the changing nature of work, and contemporary careers.

Chapter Three
Organisational and Labour Flexibility: Changing Work and Careers

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two discussed the political and cultural arrangements that were renegotiated among nation states from the 1990s consistent with their neo-liberal economic aspirations. These particular renegotiations, referred to frequently as 'globalisation' are often presented as macro-level phenomena that are merely an extension of the increasing interdependence of groups of people and later nation states (e.g. Giddens). Reinicke (1997) however, provides a different perspective. He argues that there is a distinction between international interdependence and the current form of globalisation:

> Unlike interdependence, which narrowed the distance between sovereign states and caused closer macroeconomic cooperation, globalization is a microeconomic phenomenon. Globalization represents the integration of a cross-national dimension into the very nature of the organizational structure and strategic behavior of individual companies. The cross-border movement of intangible capital, such as finance, technology, and information, allows companies to enhance their competitiveness (p. 127).

As early as 1991, Pollert argued that globalisation of production and finance is central to restructuring by large organisations. For Pollert, globalisation involves relocating production to any region that offers satisfactory skills at the lowest legal compliance and labour costs. However, such relocation leads to spatial divisions of labour and radical impacts on regional economies. The relocation of production and its associated investment in employment, is often promoted as opportunities for economic (political and cultural) empowerment for the host region or country (e.g. IMF, 1999a, b, c, d; World Bank Group, 2000c). However, contemporary management techniques ensure that strategic power and the majority of profit is actually retained elsewhere (Calas & Smircich, 1993). Increased centralisation occurs as multinational parent companies impose external controls over offshore activities.

Standardisation of production (hence of consumption) allows for continued economies of scale, and mobile finance resulting from deregulated money markets expose these regional economies to the (mis)fortunes of the world market (Pollert, 1991). Sussens-Messerer (1998) notes that multinational corporations in diverse industries have pursued strategies and structural reforms to compete on price in light of increased global competition. As discussed in the previous chapter, multinational companies have downsized, merged, listed on stock exchanges, entered and withdrawn from foreign countries, and taken advantage of international finance, labour markets and goods trade (Kelsey, 1995; Perkin, 1996; Reich, 1992; Sussens-Messerer, 1998). Korten (1996) suggests that while these structural reforms have reduced the number and size of multinational corporations, their political and financial power has strengthened as a result. He notes the global strategy of multinational corporations places their activities outside of the influence and control of governments, and the political power to sway governments is strengthened by the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and World Bank and the free trade agreements. Brunhes (1989) notes the strategies and structural changes adopted by multinational corporations to raise productivity and reduce costs also directly influence restructuring of nationally-based firms because:

> small enterprises are linked in various ways to major enterprises (they operate in the same domestic markets or are subcontracted to them), they are subject to the same constraints (p. 123).

To compete with increased global competition, nationally-based firms and industries and the smaller firms that serve them have frequently responded by restructuring, downsizing, reducing the size of the labour force, and reducing wages and conditions (Ehrensal, 1995; Kelsey, 1995; Perkin, 1996). Those unable to compete have closed operations (Kelsey, 1995). At the same time Ehrensal (1995) argues that information technology is being used to deskill managerial work by placing business knowledge information into simplified central databanks. He suggests that this process is enabling managers to be replaced by individuals with sufficient skill to access information databanks. Other strategies to restructure employment have included subcontracting, part-time work, and the casualisation of the work force (Pollert, 1991; Watson, 1999). Government agencies have adopted similar strategies to reduce the

cost of labour in line with commitments made within multinational and bilateral agreements to reduce government spending (Kelsey, 1995). Collectively, the changes to employment characterised by casualisation, increased part-time employment, subcontracting arrangements and fixed term contracts have been termed 'flexibility'. While the processes of global neo-liberalism have created an international framework enabling the intensification of these flexibility strategies on a global scale, the beginnings of organisational restructuring with view of becoming 'flexible' at the firm level may be traced to the early 1980s.

The emergent discourse of organisational and labour flexibility during the 1980s to the present time, the concomitant changes to employment, and the emergence of contemporary career management and development concepts, theories, and practices are the focus of this chapter. The chapter begins in Section 3.2 with a brief overview of how the terms 'theory' and 'model' might be understood. This overview is provided to organise the various descriptive, predictive, and prescriptive theories and models that have been designed and developed around notions of organisation and labour flexibility, workers and work structures, and career. Some designers present their theories and models as descriptions of observable change. Others, present their theories and models as prescriptive guidance on how to implement change within an organisational context (e.g. Atkinson, 1984), and indeed on how to change ourselves (e.g. Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994).

Section 3.3 reviews the impetus for introducing organisational and labour flexibility strategies, and describes and critiques the various models and forms that such flexibility has taken during the 1980s. This section includes a brief description of four 'flexibility' models developed and popularised during the 1980s. These models are: 1) Piore and Sabel's (1984) 'Flexible Specialisation'; 2) Atkinson's (1984) 'Flexible Firm Model'; 3) the 'Lean Production' model developed by Toyota, Japan; and 4) flexible manufacturing systems. Despite the popularity, very little evidence was available to determine the usefulness or the prevalence of the forms of flexibility described in these models. Thus, the OECD commissioned a report to identify factors

influencing organisational restructuring and the forms that labour flexibility had taken throughout the 1980s (Brunhes, 1989). The forms of flexibility observed are also discussed. Labour and organisational flexibility strategies have also been demonised throughout the 1980 and 1990s. Critics have argued that the outcomes of flexibility strategies of casualisation, part-time work, and work intensification, have resulted in changes to the shape and nature of work that disadvantage employees.

The implementation of labour and organisational flexibility strategies at the firm level has had direct implications upon the structure of work and employment and upon the definitions of the types of employees who engage in such employment (Humphries, 1998; Hyman, 1991; Pollert, 1991). Together with the very reconstruction of concepts of work and workers there has been an observable change in the discourse of 'career'. By the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s, many authors began to question the relevancy of traditional notions and forms of career in light of global, firm, and job level restructuring (Greenhaus et al., 1994; Hall & Associates, 1996; 1994; Moss Kanter, 1989). Authors such as these have suggested alternative definitions and models of career that, for them, are more reflective of changes in the work environment, and of the opportunities for careers during the 1990s. Such career theorists have introduced a new discourse for career that parallels the redefinition of work and workers. The changes to career development and management theories, concepts, models, and practices developed in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s are discussed in Section 3.4. The chapter concludes by suggesting that contemporary career discourse and associated theories, and models, and suggested practices present an overly optimistic view of the realistic opportunities for many people in the current work environment. Moreover, this view portrays a concomitant unrealistic representation of an individual's capacity to take required control over, or responsibility for career directions and outcomes.

3.2 Understanding Theories and Models

Over the past two decades a myriad of theories and models have been devised to describe and predict changes to organisations, work, employment and career. In this

thesis 'work', 'jobs', employment, and 'career' are understood not to have fixed meanings, but to act as metaphors which represent a set of changeable, composite concepts and values; concepts and values that can be changed to reflect or influence parallel changes in the equally metaphoric economy. The influences of theories, models, and metaphors on how we perceive the world and make decisions are discussed in this section. A distinction is made between descriptive, prescriptive and normative forms of theory and their associated models, and how theories and models may be viewed as symbolic and metaphorical.

Descriptive and explanatory theories and models seek to describe or explain complex phenomena and possible connections or relationships that might exist among them (Bullock, Stallybrass & Trombley, 1988; Marshall, 1998). Predictive theories and models attempt to draw conclusions based on recognising a series of causal relationships, the outcomes of which might be, for example, the prediction of specific or likely behaviour, personality and so on. Normative models describe how people should react or behave (Greenhaus et al., 2000). Marshall notes normative theorists seek to move from the analysis, conceptualisation and explanation of theorising to include hypothesising about what might be right, good, or just and to suggest how things ought to be. Underpinning the argument of such theorists is the belief that solutions might be sought to ethical issues "for example by identifying (in the interest of a value such as justice or progress) those moral principles which ought to regulate social relationships and institutions" (Marshall, 1998, p. 455). The application of normative theories then, might extend to making judgements about how people ought to behave. Prescriptive models explicitly provide guides for changing behaviours, values, or aspirations, in harmony with the normative judgements.

Morgan (1980) argues that theories and models may also be viewed as symbolic forms that in part are created through the use of metaphors. Morgan suggests that in our attempt to develop conceptions and understandings of the world we make the world concrete by giving it symbolic forms through the use of language, myth, science or art. Morgan explains:

> Words, names, concepts, ideas, facts, observations, etc., do not so much denote 'external' things, as conceptions of things activated in the mind by a selective and meaningful form of noticing the world, which may be shared with others. They are not to be seen as a representation of a reality 'out there', but as tools for capturing and dealing with what is perceived to be 'out there'. The scientist on this score, like others in everyday life, draws upon symbolic constructs to make concrete the relationships between subjective and objective worlds, in a process that captures a pale and abbreviated view of either (p. 610).

For Morgan, symbols are created through the process of metaphorical conception. He notes that metaphor creation is central to the way we experience and create 'knowledge' or information about the world. Metaphor 'exerts influence' on the development of language as meaning is transferred from one situation to the next and is also important in the use of language, cognitive development, and the way we conceive of and order our own social reality. Morgan explains that metaphors conjure up pictures of similarities in our minds between one situation, object, sets of ideas and so on, with another. Yet, the picture of similarity is partial, only certain aspects will be held up as similar, based on our previous understanding of points of similarity. For these reasons, Morgan argues metaphor, "is thus based upon but partial truth; it requires of its user a somewhat one-sided abstraction in which certain features are emphasized and others suppressed in a selective comparison" (p. 611).

While Morgan argues that researchers and the theories and models they design or draw upon, are influenced and shaped by metaphor, Spicer (1998) provides a useful analysis of how theories and models influence individual and collective understanding of the world through the processes of mental modelling and conceptual mapping. Spicer argues that a mental model might be seen as:

> a simplification or representation of understanding. In this way a mental model can vary from a simple image or picture in the mind to a more complex abstract or conceptual archetype built through more detailed understanding (p. 126).

Kim (1993) suggests that mental models consist of two types of knowledge of "conceptual (know-why) and operational (know-how)" (p. 38). Building on these ideas Spicer argues:

> It is possible to see a mental model as providing a framework which directs and controls an individual's decision-making process, a framework which ... would be contingent on that individuals perception of 'why' and 'how' (p. 126).

Spicer draws on the suggestion that a cognitive map can be understood as "a graphical description of the unique ways in which individuals view a particular domain (field of thought or action)" (Langfield-Smith, 1992, as cited in Spicer, 1998, p. 127). Thus, Spicer notes, the distinction between mental models and conceptual maps may be made at the level of abstraction and application. He suggests that mental maps operate at the conceptual level of understanding by providing frameworks "for a more complete understanding of the development and refinement of our comprehension of knowledge and understanding" whereas cognitive maps provide a framework for "the representation or elicitation of understanding" (p. 128). Mental models thus guide our thinking, understanding, and the way we see the world. In turn, our thinking, understanding, and world view are influenced by our knowledge, beliefs, experiences, and perceptions; and our own political, economic, cultural and social backgrounds.

While theories and their associated models can be viewed from different perspectives, generally they are used as simplified and partial guides to view, make sense of, and form judgements about the world. The specific partiality of emergent flexibility models during the 1980s and the emergent career models throughout the 1990s are discussed in this chapter. The creators, advocates, and subscribers, of these models claim that these models describe and explain changes to work. Frequently, however, these theories and models exclude a critique of the wider global political, economic and cultural changes as discussed in the previous chapter. The concern in this thesis is that these partial descriptions and explanations are translated into apparently robust normative and prescriptive models that are then used to guide the decisions of individuals in relation to workplace change. These issues are more fully developed in subsequent chapters. This chapter focuses on discussing 'organisational and labour flexibility', changes to work, and emerging understandings of career.

3.3 Organisational and Labour Flexibility

Lipietz (1997) argues that by the end of the 1970s, official explanations of the 1970s 'crisis' (as discussed in Chapter Two) emphasised worker and raw-material exporter strength in relation to employers, as a key determinant of declining profits in the 1970s. He notes that the Big Seven Summit (held in 1980) upheld the view of economic crisis as a crisis of diminishing productivity in the workforce, in part, constrained by outdated or undesirable ways of organising employment. To divert further crisis, these leaders deemed it necessary to reduce inflation, increase productivity and redistribute capital from non-productive and public sectors to what were perceived to be growth sectors. This structural adjustment was to be achieved by reducing the 'rigidities' associated with previous social compromises and by embracing new technologies that allowed for greater productivity (Lipietz, 1997). New Zealand officials in Treasury (as discussed in Chapter Two) also embraced the theme of 'crisis' (Humphries, 1998; Kelsey, 1995). Humphries (1998) argues that the emerging discourse of 'crisis' throughout the 1970s, as played out in the public domain, focused upon forecasting an economic disaster. She suggests that central to this discourse was a rehearsed argument where:

> wages were deemed to high, unions too powerful, and economic policies too restrictive for the rapid decisions the commercial elite deemed necessary. 'Work', 'workers', and 'managers', fabrications central to the discourse of employment were to be reshaped (p. 740).

The 'reshaping' of work, workers, and managers was to be achieved through organisational and labour flexibility. Throughout the 1980s employer groups sought flexible work practices to enable this reshaping to occur. Piore and Sable (1984) suggest that mass production structures were considered too rigid to respond to increased global competition and an increasingly sophisticated consumer market. Bartol and Martin (1991) extend the theme of 'rigidities' associated with the rules and procedures of bureaucratic and scientific organisation designs. They note that the scientific rules designed to increase productivity and managerial control over workers also create structural benefits to employees. These included the creation of internal labour markets and career paths; and rules governing layoffs, promotions, sick pay and leave entitlements. Thompson and McHugh (1990) argue that these rules also

provided unions with bargaining power that could restrict management prerogative. They suggest that "the flexibility offensive is directed not just against the rigidities of work rules, but also their high, often fixed, costs in terms of compensation and movement" (p. 173). Cappelli and Rogovsky (1994) note that the scientific job designs were also criticised for creating an inflexible work force that were unable to respond to work-place changes deemed necessary to respond to the 1970s crisis.

Cappelli and Rogovsky (1994) note that from the 1980s employee groups and behavioural scientists also began advocating the need for flexible work practices, albeit for different reasons. They argued that specialised jobs based on scientific management systems did not meet the psychological needs of workers. According to these groups, widening skill bases and increased worker participation in decision making would improve worker satisfaction and would lead to increased productivity through decreased absenteeism, improved worker flexibility, and employee contributions to workplace improvement.

The theme for greater organisational and labour flexibility continued throughout the 1990s (Dent, 1995; Ehrensal, 1995; Felstad & Jewson, 1999). Dent (1995) continues to draw on the theme that mass production systems were too expensive and non-responsive to changing customer needs. He argues that businesses needed to "switch to front-line, customized, and customer-focused processes that can deliver customization and personalized service at increasingly lower costs" (p. 52). For him, lower prices and higher wages would result from creating smaller customer-focused enterprises. He also argues that the world was facing a 'work revolution' characterised by the downsizing of white-collar and managerial work, the humanisation of jobs through the application of technology, and a movement towards workers becoming entrepreneurs. This rapid 'work revolution', Dent argues, was mandated by the technological and booming economic environment, and would result in "rapidly rising personal standards of living, and a greater quality and choice in life" (p. 37). Thus in contrast to the 1970s and 1980s, Dent argues that an economic boom and not an impending crisis was driving the need for greater flexibility in the 1990s.

Ehrensal (1995) also argues that the discourse of 'crisis', as developed during the 1970s and 1980s, changed during the 1990s. Rather, he argues that the discourse of globalisation was now played out in the public arena. Embedded in this discourse was the argument that flexibility was crucial to remain competitive in the face of increased global competition.

In the previous two decades, 'flexibility' became strongly articulated in the organisational literature. Governments, employers, unions and employees desired competing forms of flexibility. Throughout the 1980s, three models were developed that were purported to describe organisational flexibility, and indeed, were sometimes offered as prescriptions for change. These models include Atkinson's (1984) flexible firm model, Piore and Sable's (1984) flexible specialisation model, and the lean production system designed in Toyota, Japan, and popularised by Womack, Jones, and Roos (1990). A fourth production method that gained popular appeal during the 1980s is the Total Quality Management system, based on Deming's early work in Japan during the 1950s (Perry, Davidson, & Hill, 1995). These models reflect the desires expressed by government and employers. This view of 'flexibility' signals a particular set of conceptual configurations and implied values and associated practices around the reshaping of employment and employees. Flexibility from this perspective has become a specific metaphoric understanding that offers a partial truth about the need for and outcomes of workplace change. These issues are examined in the following sections.

3.3.1 Modelling Organisational and Manufacturing Flexibility

Since the development of the flexible firm model, flexible specialisation, and lean production systems, many authors (e.g. Amin, 1991; Perry et al., 1995; Sei, 1991) have used these frameworks to analyse and critique the extent and nature of organisation and labour changes. These models are briefly discussed below because of this considerable attention and because of the reach of their associated practices on reshaping of 'jobs', workers' and 'managers', and the range and definitions of associated 'careers'.

3.3.1.1 Atkinson's Flexible Firm Model

Atkinson (1984) proposes that organisations can become more productive by creating a core and a periphery workforce. Core workers are characterised as being highly skilled, able to participate in decision making, directly employed by the organisation, functionally flexible, have job security, and are well paid. Peripheral workers are characterised by low wages, low job security and having little or no autonomy in their work. Atkinson identifies three forms of flexibility associated with his model. *Functional flexibility* is associated with the core work force and implies employee skill versatility, increased on-the-job training, and a redefinition of working time reflecting work-flow or customer needs. *Numerical flexibility* is associated with peripheral workers and allowes management to match the need for workers with the number employed. Numerical flexibility is achieved by short-term employment arrangements, for example, short-term contracts, part-time employment, job sharing, self-employment, contracting out, telecommuting or homework, franchising, and the use of agency temps. *Financial flexibility* allows the cost of labour, as indicated by hourly rates and contract prices, to reflect the supply of, and demand for, labour. Compensation packages can then fluctuate according to 'market worth' of labour. Financial flexibility supports the implementation of functional and numerical flexibility. He argued that these flexibilities, if managed properly would enhance productivity, efficiency and profitability.

3.3.1.2 Piore and Sabel's Flexible Specialisation Model

In the *Second Industrial Divide*, Piore and Sabel (1984) describe a system of flexibility that they argue would link local organisations together through community-based industrial districts. They term this system 'flexible specialisation'. They argue that the adoption of flexible specialisation by firms within localised communities provides employment and growth in the regions of their study. They identify four forms that flexible specialisation could take, depending on the geographic location and size of the firms involved. However, all these forms display several similar characteristics. First, the firms involved were flexible *and* specialised. Flexibility refers to the firm's ability to reorganise production processes facilitated by computerised technology. Firms within the system specialise in manufacturing

limited components of particular products. Second, the firms and communities have created safety nets to support staff during reorganisation. Third, limited entry is created to the community or industry to ensure outsiders did not overburden safety nets. Fourth, competition between firms and similar industries that promote innovation is encouraged. Innovative firms gain favourable placement within the industry hierarchy. Finally, limits to destructive competition are needed to avoid competition that leads to 'sweating', through the deterioration of wages and working conditions. Piore and Sabel argue that while flexible specialisation has the potential to weaken the power of labour, they maintain that working conditions and wages in the long term will improve. Additionally, they argue flexible specialisation will result in the development of a new craft culture, and thus re-link conception and execution of work. Flexible specialisation will also help develop 'communitarianism' as cooperation between firms facilitates the regeneration of regional economies.

Piore and Sable draw many of their examples of successful regional industries operating from 'Third Italy'. Harrison (1994) illustrates that during the 1970s and 1980s, many of the districts to which Piore and Sable refer experienced higher production, employment and wages than other parts of Italy.

3.3.1.3 Lean Production and Total Quality Management

Perry, Davidson and Hill (1995) note that lean production has three significant characteristics. First, new products are designed with manufacturing capabilities and selling potentialities as key concerns. This is achieved by involving multidisciplinary teams (including engineers, marketers, production, and shop-floor workers) in new product development. Second, work is sub-contracted out to suppliers. Long-term contracting relationships are established between the lean production firm and first-tier contractors. These first-tier contractors become responsible for their relationships with second-tier contractors and so on. These contracting relationships are designed to maintain low buffer stocks of parts, thus reducing holding costs and risks associated with stock-on-hand for the main firm. Third, work is performed by functionally flexible work teams, which are also responsible for quality control throughout the manufacturing process. Thus, the lean production system also involves the two

separate but related work processes of Just in Time (JIT) delivery systems and Total Quality Management (TQM).

Perry et al. (1995) note that JIT delivery systems means inwards goods are ordered to meet production requirements to keep stock to a minimum. Because of the low stock on hand, JIT systems rely on high quality inwards goods and production processes (Perry, et al., 1995; Thompson & McHugh, 1990). The development of the TQM philosophy and practices has led to improved quality of both inwards goods and production processes. TQM attempts to create continuous improvement in the production process through employee participation in Quality Circles (Thompson & McHugh, 1990). Although TQM was developed within the context of manufacturing sector, the philosophy has been applied to the service industry (Humphries, 1998; Perry et al., 1995). Thus service industries have adopted quality circles, and notions of internal customer service.

Cappelli and Rogovsky (1994) maintains that "lean production models basically argue that increased quality, productivity and flexibility can be achieved by making better use of employees" (p. 207). Mathews (1994) suggests the advantages of lean production systems arise from functional flexibility within the production process, allowing for quick responses to customer needs. Increased worker skill and worker participation enables quick and effective on the job decisions. Waste and associated costs are reduced by getting things right the first time. Lastly, adaptable technology and small batch production enable rapid change in response to market demands. The celebrated success of the Japanese car industry was in part attributed to lean production systems, and attempts were made to adopt the 'Japanisation' in the United States and other countries. Womack, Jones and Roos (1990) maintain that:

> Lean production will supplant both mass production and the remaining outposts of craft production in all areas of industrial endeavour to become the standard global production system of the twenty-first century (p. 278).

Despite the widespread popularity that these models gained during the 1980s, little was understood about the nature, extent or impact of workplace flexibility on the lives of people. To this end, Brunhes (1989) was commissioned by the OECD to study

enterprise level labour flexibility in Germany, Great Britain, France and Sweden. His findings are briefly outlined in the next section.

3.3.2 Forms of Enterprise Level Labour Flexibility in the 1980s

In his work on enterprise level flexibility for the OECD, Brunhes (1989) states that throughout the 1980s employers sought to change the employment security and seniority-based pay systems achieved during the 1950s and 1960s, by advocating changes to existing laws and regulations, and collective employment contracts. Effectively, employers sought labour flexibility at the enterprise level. He holds that employers viewed "flexibility as an indispensable response to market uncertainties, dearer money, the increasing pace of business activities and the internationalisation of markets" (p. 13) experienced during the 1980s. Brunhes identifies five forms of labour flexibility implemented at the enterprise level. These included external numerical flexibility, externalisation, internal numerical flexibility, functional flexibility, and wage flexibility. The forms of labour flexibility are described below.

3.3.2.1 External Numerical Flexibility

External numerical flexibility allows employers to adjust employee numbers to the requirements of the organisation through redundancy, the introduction of fixed-term contracts, and part-time work. These fixed-term contracts include short-term contracts, temporary work arrangements, project employment contracts, extension of probationary periods, and easing of rules regulating replacement of employees on sick leave or maternity leave. Forms of part-time work include casual work, job share, and job splitting.

3.3.2.2 Externalisation

Externalisation occurs when "part of the firm's work is put out to enterprises or individuals who are not bound by a contract of employment" (Brunhes, 1989, p. 13). This entails the substitution of employment contracts with commercial contracts. Such forms of externalisation include putting-out systems, on-site subcontracting, hiring temporary staff from temp agencies, and using self-employed workers. Brunhes notes these forms of production relationships were not new. What differed in

the context of the economic restructuring of the 1980s is that these ways of production:

> may now be used to systematically transfer the risks of production outside the enterprise, and no longer merely to make good the skills lacking in the enterprise or to replace workers temporarily (p. 14).

The transferring of risk is achieved because commercial contracts give enterprises greater freedom to determine the conditions of the contract, terminate the contract, change suppliers, or order exact number of components as needed. Under commercial contracts the corporation which contracts out does not pay wages in downturns, and union action against the corporation is negated because there is no employment relationship to consider. As such, Brunhes argues "the risks associated with the uncertainties and fluctuations of production are transferred to another enterprise" (p. 14).

3.3.2.3 Internal Numerical Flexibility

Internal numerical flexibility refers to the ability of employers to vary the number of hours worked without changing employee numbers. This is achieved by setting an average level of hours to be worked within a given time frame; creating flexible annual leave and public holiday arrangements; and creating permanent nightshift or week-end work. Time flexibility is linked with employer desire to amortise new, expensive, and constantly changing technology and machinery in shorter periods of time. Brunhes states that employers hoped internal numeric flexibility would result in setting annual working hours with weekly pay remaining constant so hours worked and time off would reflect seasonal demand.

3.3.2.4 Functional Flexibility

Functional flexibility enables multi-skilled employees to be switched between tasks as production requirements change. Brunhes suggests three aims of functional flexibility. First, multi-skilled teams are thought to improve worker initiative, provide workers with variety of tasks, and are more efficient than Taylorist forms of single skill production work. Second, multi-skilled workers can be relocated across sites or jobs to offset production or seasonal fluctuations. Third, long term stability of enterprises was increasingly thought to be dependent upon employee ability to adapt

to technological changes, market fluctuations and new jobs throughout their working life.

3.3.2.5 Wage Flexibility

Wage flexibility is aimed at linking pay to performance to motivate employees and increase performance. Brunhes (1989) finds that all enterprises in the study seek some form of wage flexibility, yet, the proportion of the wage cost linked to performance pay is low in the enterprises studied. While some managers express interest in extending the linkages of pay with individual or group performance, few believe wage flexibility is integral to the overall labour flexibility policy. However, five forms of wage flexibility are identified, including supplemented basic wages of individuals or groups with an output-linked payment, bonus payments calculated on workshop or plant performance, end of year bonuses, and profit-sharing schemes.

Brunhes (1989) argues that labour flexibility was only possible because of the existence of unemployment and improved technology. Brunhes believes that "unemployment and flexibility are directly related", and states:

> high unemployment allows employers to hire workers on contracts that give no job security, or that are short term, part-time with few hours ... conditions that workers would not accept in full employment (p. 13).

He maintains that unemployment weakens unions "and thus their scope for action, and increased employer freedom of action" (p. 13). However, Brunhes also finds that some managers felt responsible for helping to relieve unemployment and do so through flexible hiring practices. He also points out that computer and communication technology allow "complex systems to be controlled and production to be rescheduled or switched to a different location (pp. 12,13). The advances in production technology have been termed flexible manufacturing systems, and underpin flexible specialisation, and to some degree, lean production systems.

3.3.3 Flexible Manufacturing Systems

In 1984 The Working Party on Engineering Industries and Automation of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe offered a standard definition of flexible manufacturing systems (FMS):

> A flexible manufacturing system is a production system with the following characteristics:
> - An automated production system for the manufacture of a large variety of workpieces in small batches with minimal set-up times;
> - A machine system consisting of a number of numeric control machines, industrial robots and other computer controlled workstations tied together with an automated workpiece and tool handling system. The latter is a *sine qua non* of FMS;
> - A system in which major functions are controlled by one or more computers which download numeric control programmes to individual machines and robots, control workpiece flow, and generate performance reports; and
> - A system in which the following functions are carried out automatically (in software): production scheduling, part-programme selection, cutting-abnormality detection, tool breakage detection, tool wear compensation, pallet retraction, automated measuring and certain self-diagnostic functions (p. 2).

Ebel (1985) argues that FMS systems "aims at higher productivity mainly through better utilisation of capital goods and a reduction of labour cost per unit produced" (p. 135). Ebel summarises the reasons put forward as leading to cost reductions resulting from the introduction of FMS. These include a continuous flow of production, a lower staff requirement, increased operation time and hence greater use of machinery, lower inventory levels, easy movement between operations and parts, space savings, better quality and lower overheads. Various forms of labour flexibility, in particular internal numeric flexibility and functional flexibility, support the introduction of FMS.

3.3.4 Reshaping Work: Flexibility or Intensification?

Downsizing and organisational restructuring continues the world over since the 1980s to the present time. Ehrensal (1995) argues that during the recession of the 1980s predominantly blue-collar and poorly-educated workers lost their jobs as a result of restructuring. During the 1990s, layoffs occurred even in profitable organisations, disproportionately affecting white-collar workers, and often involving out-sourcing jobs once performed by full-time workers (Ehrensal, 1995; Uchitelle & Kleinfield,

1996). In response to the current recession approximately one million jobs were lost in the United States in 2001 (Herring, 2001). Similarly, three Japanese firms between them announced 37,400 job cuts in one week, of which 11,400 were in international operations, and 2,000 were local subcontractors (CBS NEWS, 2001a, 2001b). In contrast, in January 2000, France introduced a 35-hour week in response to the current recession (Field, 2001). In the year following the change, France's gross domestic product increased by 3.2%, inflation was 1.6%, half a million jobs were created, and unemployment fell from 12% to 8.7% (Bain, 2001; Field, 2001). Employee response has been mixed. Field (2001) notes that four out of five employees are positively affected by the change; working parents are able to spend more time with children, and others report more leisure time. She notes that casual workers paid by the hour are less optimistic because a forced 35-hour week would reduce their earning capacity and their standard of living. The trend of employer-imposed labour flexibility, however, continued in many other nations throughout the 1990s.

In their edited collection of essays, Felstad and Jewson (1999) note that there is an increased use of labour flexibility in North America (Harvey, 1999; Rosenberg & Lapidus, 1999), Germany, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, (Cousins, 1999), New Zealand, (Armstrong, 1999), Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom (Yeandle, 1999), Australia, (Burgess & Strachan), and Hong Kong and Taiwan (Lui & Chiu, 1999). Like Brunhes' (1989) earlier analysis, these authors note that the extent and nature of labour flexibility within these countries differs based on regulatory system and union strength.

The shape of work has also changed in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Key features of change include more women in paid employment working longer hours, increased labour force mobility and flexibility, a decreased working week, and greater variety of working patterns (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Harbridge and McCaw (1990) and Harbridge, Crawford and Kiely, (2000) link part of these structural changes to employment to labour market reforms in 1984, 1987 and 1991. Harbridge and McCaw (1990) note that the purpose of labour market reform in 1984

and 1987 (with the introduction of the Labour Relations Act) was to enable greater wage bargaining flexibility. The Employment Contracts Act 1991 extended wage bargaining flexibility and provided the means to introduce greater flexibility in working arrangements (Harbridge et al., 2000). Humphries (1998) also argues that during the 1980s, there was a concerted effort by government and business to introduce aspects of total quality management. In their collection of eight case studies Perry et al. (1995) note that firms attempted to increase functional flexibility of management and staff. Typically, managerial roles changed from direct supervision to include involvement in team leading and quality control. For staff, the focus was on creating multiple job responsibilities to enable greater deployment of staff.

A variety of changes to manufacturing systems and work processes have also been observed in New Zealand in the last 20 years. Manufacturing system reform has included the introduction of flexible manufacturing systems, attempts at introducing lean production systems, and various aspects of JIT systems (Humphries-Kil, 1995; Mazany, 1995; Perry et al., 1995). There has also been a concerted effort to introduce aspects of Total Quality Management and teamwork design processes in non-manufacturing sectors (Humphries, 1998; Perry et al., 1995). Underlying the introduction of many of these new forms of manufacturing and work processes has been a desire to become more efficient. In their study of the Christchurch Park Royal Hotel, Perry et al. report that increased quality was achieved even though the hotel had not fundamentally changed the poor working conditions (inherent in the industry) of low wages, job insecurity, unsociable hours, and the increase in work for some employees.

The response to the 'crisis' of the 1970s was to urge an increase in productivity to be achieved through the myriad of 'flexibility' and 'quality' related models. In the classic liberal rhetoric, such efforts would undoubtedly lead to prosperity for all (Humphries, 1998). A further focus of benefits to be attained during the 1990s included more satisfying work, affordable quality goods, and a means to stay competitive in a global market place (Dent, 1995; Ehrensal, 1995). However, despite

this optimism, organisational and labour flexibility has been criticised for several reasons. First, the descriptive capacity of the flexibility models offered by Atkinson, Piore and Sable, and the lean production model have been criticised. Second, many have argued that labour and organisation flexibility has led to disparate employment outcomes resulting in the intensification of work, and contradictory trends of over-, under-, and unemployment for various groups of workers (Ehrensal, 1995; McBride, 1999; Uchitelle & Klenfield, 1996). Third, wage flexibility appears to have resulted in disproportionate income redistribution patterns in which the incomes of the top few have risen while the incomes of lower wage earners has diminished. (Kossek et al., 1997). Fourth, growing evidence supports the argument that men, women and minority groups are affected differently by organisational and labour flexibility (Cousins, 1999;Yeandle, 1999). These issues are discussed below.

3.3.4.1 Descriptive Failure of Flexibility Models

Early critics of labour and organisational flexibility acknowledged that during the 1980s firm-level reorganisation occurred, however many believed the popularised flexibility models ought to be viewed with scepticism. Hyman (1991), for example, argues that there was no evidence of a strategic commitment to implement flexible firm structures. He also states growth in atypical work patterns was not dramatic, and concentrated in industries that always used non-standard forms of employment. Hyman attributes the growth in small business enterprises and self-employment to recession, and the failure of large organisations to provide employment. Instead, Hyman maintains, there was nothing new about segmenting the labour market through flexible use of labour, with some employee groups achieving better working conditions and pay than others. Similarly, Elger (1991) argues that there were incremental changes towards flexibility involving job enlargement, overlapping job descriptions and functions. Management priority focused on reducing pauses in production and intensifying labour. Elger concludes that training costs constrained widespread introduction of functional flexibility, with managers instead preferring less expensive training in a narrow range of plant specific skills.

The characteristics associated with core and periphery workers within Atkinson's (1984) flexible firm model have been criticised as being too simplistic to represent the actual experiences of workers. The scope of decision-making associated with core workers was found to be very limited (Ursell, 1991; Whitaker, 1991). Ursell holds that budgets, performance appraisals, and orientation and selection techniques were used to monitor and control the extent of autonomy given to the core workforce. The threat of contracting out core work was linked to downward pressure on wages and work conditions and increased job insecurity were also linked to core workers (Whitaker, 1991; Whittington, 1991; Davidson, 1991). Whittington (1991) notes that reduced autonomy, downward pressure on incomes, work intensification, and job insecurity of a group of Research and Development scientists was achieved by creating profit centres and exposing core workers to market forces coupled with redundancy. Thus, Whitaker (1991) argues productivity increases achieved by the 'core' results from work intensification and not through their seemingly functional flexibility.

The importance of peripheral workers in relation to firm activities also has been criticised. Buultjens and Luckie (1996) note the hospitality industry had always used part-time and temporary staff to provide essential core services. Malloch (1991) holds that sub-contractors were sometimes employed to provide essential specialist knowledge not found in-house. Sloane and Gasteen (1991) find that temporary workers did not always replace standard workers. Rather, they argue, temporary workers were more likely to be employed to cover predictable demand, with unpredictable demand more likely to be covered by overtime work. However, peripheral workers still had insecure employment. Yet, Ursell (1991) suggests that commitment from periphery workers was achieved because of the readily available pool of other potential employees, either locally or through the risk of re-locating production. As such, Ursell (1991) argues, that although the flexible firm model uses different tactics, the goal for management is the same as that under the Fordist model - achieving management control over committed workers in the pursuit of profit.

Flexible specialisation relies on targeting niche markets. Pollert (1991) argues that for small firms, the "niche market may be innovative, but only in the short term; the large retailer and large producer can quickly capture the product and exploit its entrenched advantage in the market place" (p. 19). Harrison (1994) illustrates that by the 1980s and early 1990s, the very success of the industrial districts in 'Third Italy' began attracting outside interest. In some instances this led to multinational company buy-outs and Italian conglomerate take-overs of the connected firms, resulting in the disintegration of some districts and connected firms. As a result, he argues that the inter-relationships between member firms within a flexibly specialised industry or district stylised by Piore and Sable began to be superseded by hierarchical industrial relationships, resembling those preferred by Japan and America. Harrison (1994) suggests that smaller firms within the industrial districts lacked the financial strength and marketing skills to compete globally.

Other authors are more critical of flexible specialisation. Nolan and O'Donnel (1991) suggest that in order to achieve high wages and improved working conditions continued high profits are required. Yet, Amin (1991) points out that the small firms in Italy fitting the flexible specialisation category were not as profitable as larger firms, paid up to 50% less than larger-sized employers, employees worked longer hours, and employed poorly unionised youth and women. Amin concludes that it was the long hours and poor wages, and not the technical know-how of workers that led to flexibility under this system. Harrison (1994) supports many of Amin's concerns but adds that in the face of increased global competition to the industrial districts in Italy, smaller contracting firms lowered contract prices, resulting in lower income for their families and employees.

Lean production systems have also been criticised. Berggren (1993) maintains that within lean production systems constant high performance was required, employees could be asked to work overtime at a moment's notice, and there were high incidences of occupational overuse syndrome. Berggren observes that in Japan, OSS was not a recognised disease. There were reports of workers suffering form OSS being

dismissed in US-based Japanese firms due to their inability to perform at the speed required by lean production. Thus, workers were found to be working in pain to keep their jobs. Berggren concludes that the lean production firm is a rigorous factory regime where uniforms "are compulsory, conduct and discipline codes are spelled out in detail, the workplace is minutely regulated and all personal attributes prohibited" (pp. 178,179).

The nature of the relationship between car manufacturers and subcontracting firms has also come under scrutiny. Turnbull (1991) suggests the contracting firms usually paid lower wages and required buffer stocks to ensure delivery of unpredictable orders. Sei (1991) also explains that in Japan, contractors were required to improve performance and provide services that were not included in contracts, making contracts virtually meaningless.

The assumption that lean production is inherently Japanese suggests that all successful Japanese firms would operate accordingly. However Milkman (1991) point out that many Japanese-owned organisations in California did not operate on lean production principles, and provided low pay and low skill jobs to workers who were primarily immigrants. In the wake of Japans' current economic recession, Japanese workers have been made redundant. These same workers were promised life-long employment security in exchange for company commitment (CBS NEWS, 2001).

Throughout the 1980s, Pollert (1991) argues, firm-level flexibility manifest as intensification of work and decreased health and safety standards. He contends that the movements toward decentralising some areas of decision-making were coupled with tighter controls over the scope of decisions, for example, through the use of financial mechanisms such as budgets and performance pay. In the wider context of the 1980s, Pollert notes there was increased unemployment coupled with fragmentation of employment, growing gaps between rich and poor, and a concentration of ownership of capital. At the state level in most advanced economies, there was greater centralisation of the power of the state, less focus on the welfare of

citizens, minimalist employment regulations, and decreased monitoring of organisations to ensure safe working practices. Throughout the 1990s, organisational restructuring continued to occur on an increasingly global scale, despite claims of near full employment in some nations. The purpose of this section was to explore the descriptive claims of the various flexibility models. These descriptions however, fail to capture actual changes in the structure of organisations and shape of work as experienced by employees. In contrast, some commentators argue that the implementation of organisational and labour flexibility has led to contradictory trends of over-, under-, and unemployment.

3.3.4.2 Over-employment

With the continued patterns of downsizing, workers report increasing job insecurity and acceptance that organisations no longer guarantee employment (Story, 1997; Henderson, 1997; Ehrensal, 1995). According to Uchtielle and Kleinfeld (1996), employee responses to job insecurity have included working longer to appear needed, increased meetings to show their importance to the firm, and reduced spending (particularly credit spending). The extension of the working week for some managers and employees has been documented in Australia, the United States, and New Zealand. Campbell (2002) illustrates that nearly half of the Australian workforce (including managers and employees) works longer than 40 hours per week. He notes that overtime hours currently being worked is the equivalent to 550,000 full-time jobs based on 1982 full-time hours. There are similar trends in the United States of America with managers working an average of 70 hours per week, up from 48 hours in 1991 (Ehrensal, 1995, Moss Kanter, 1989). Hymowitz (1997) reports that United States workers, on average, work 163 hours more per annum than in 1970, equating to a month more full-time work each year. Bain (2001) reports that for the decade to 1999, the average working week for New Zealanders was about 38.72 hours. However, she notes that this obscures average hourly differences between industries and full-time and part-time work. She notes that the average number of hours worked by full-time workers was 45.06 hours and construction workers for example, worked an average of 44.49 hours per week. Harbridge et al. (2000) supports these figures, reporting that the majority of New Zealand employment contracts (62%) specified a

40-hour working week, with 2% requiring more than 40 hours per week. However, contracts requiring longer working weeks were concentrated in particular industries. For example, 27% of mining, 26% of construction, and 10% of wood and paper and mineral manufacturing firms required more than 40 hours per week. Harbridge's study does not account for the hours worked by contracting firms, thus may under-estimate the extended hours worked in these and other industries, effectively hiding the level of over-employment in New Zealand.

Longer working hours are linked to the rise of stress-related disease in New Zealand in the past decade, and the increased risk of serious accidents and injury (Bain, 2001). Increased working hours also impacts upon family and leisure time (Ehrensal, 1995; Moss Kanter, 1989). For men this might mean less time with families; yet the family responsibilities are still predominantly allocated to women, and this can prevent them participating in the new organisation structures (Moss Kanter, 1989). Changes in non-sociable hours worked in New Zealand can also impact upon family and leisure time. In New Zealand there has been a trend for more employees working non-sociable hours. Harbridge et al. (2000) note that in 1996, less than half their sample of employment contracts stated a Monday to Friday working week, declining to 39% in 2000. Of the remaining contracts in 2000, 8% reported a Monday to Saturday and 53% stated a Monday to Sunday working week. Allan, Brosnan and Walsh (1998), in their report on the number of New Zealanders working non-sociable hours, revealed that 7% work before seven a.m., 10% work between 6 p.m. and midnight, 4% work after midnight, and 18% work weekends. Men are more likely than women to work unsociable hours. They found very little difference between public, private and not-for-profit sectors requiring non-sociable hours to be worked during Monday to Friday. However, private sector employees were nearly twice as likely to be working weekends than public and not-for-profit sector employees.

3.3.4.3 Under-employment

Structural changes have also resulted in increases in under-employment. There is increased use of contracting out, part-time, casual, temporary work, telework, and short-term contracts in the United States (Erhensal, 1995; Von Hippel et al., 1997),

Britain (Watts, 1997), Denmark, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom (Yeandle, 1999), Australia (Burgess & Strachan, 1999) and New Zealand (Dowdeswell, 1997). Several studies find that organisations use labour flexibility to reduce costs, increase organisational flexibility, and to avoid legal restrictions associated with hiring full-time workers (Rosenberg & Lapidus, 1999; Von Hippel et al, 1997). In many countries peripheral workers are excluded from sick leave and holiday entitlements and have lower wages than permanent workerss (Dowdeswell, 1997; Humphries & Grice, 1994; Rosenberg & Lapidus, 1999; Von Hippel et. al, 1997; Watts, 1997).

Outsourcing and temping agencies are among the fastest growing industries in the United States (Henderson, 1997; Uchitelle & Kleinfield, 1996). More than 70 % of American temporary workers seek permanent work, and many view temping as one way to gain new skills and maintain contact with the labour force, according to the 1997 study by von Hippel et al. Rosenberg and Lapidus (1999) report that in the United States one half of on-call workers, 60% of temporary workers, and 56% of contingency workers (those people who are employed for the duration the employer needed them) seek more secure forms of work. Thus, they suggest, the increase in non-standard forms of work is employer-driven as opposed to preferred by employees.

Pawson et al. (1996) argue that growth in part-time work in the service sector in New Zealand has been at the expense of creating full-time employment. In the June 2001 quarter, 365,000 people were employed as part-time workers, of whom 101,800 were men and 263,200 were women (Statistics New Zealand, Household Labour Force Survey, June 2001, Table 11). Of this, 36,900 men and 73,800 women sought more work (Statistics New Zealand, Household Labour Force Survey, June 2001, Table 11). While part-time work constitutes a form of casualisation, these statistical figures do not differentiate between permanent part-time positions and more casual forms of work. New Zealand authors (e.g. NGO, 1998; Pawson et al., 1996) note casualisation of employment, has increased however, very little research has been conducted on the extent and impact of this casualisation. Dowdeswell's (1997) work documents the stories of 12 women employed on a casual basis. These women report job insecurity,

no sick-leave entitlement, no control over when they would work, and no pay for statutory holidays if they were not rostered on. Similarly, little is known about the extent of the rise in fixed-term contracts, yet Pawson et al. (1996) argue that there are more fixed-term contractual arrangements since the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act. There is further evidence to support that sub-contracting out has been used to reduce staff numbers during restructuring. Ross and Bamber (1998) note that as part of the Telecom downsizing process throughout the 1990s, staff reductions were partly achieved by contracting out technical staff who were once employees. Similarly, Morris (1999) notes that since the deregulation of New Zealand ports and the transportation system, there has been an increase in sub-contracting to internationally-owned coastal tankers and container ships; and that the transportation of New Zealand produced Liquid Petroleum Gas around New Zealand is carried out exclusively by foreign flagships.

3.3.4.4 Unemployment

Restructuring programmes throughout the 1980s and 1990s led to rising unemployment for most Western nations, up until the latter part of the 1990s when unemployment began to fall (The Economist, 2000). Despite this falling unemployment, many commentators believe unemployment will be a permanent fixture of the labour market (McBride, 1999). The goal of full employment policies during the Keynesian era has been systematically eroded by neo-liberal sentiments that levels of employment is best left up to the market. As McBride notes there "is no doubt that neo-liberalism has been associated with high levels of unemployment and many other signs of the deterioration in the labour market" (p. 15). Many commentators (e.g. Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980; Davidson, 1991; Humphries & Grice, 1994) argue that the threat of unemployment as well as the existence of the unemployed acts to discipline those in paid employment to accept changes, including decreased pay and conditions. The Economist (2000) supports this argument, suggesting that the current economic boom in the U.S. might eventually led to an unsustainable level of employment, placing upward pressure on wages and prices.

Redundancy has been a key feature of economic and labour reform in the late 1980s and 1990s. Large-scale redundancies were made in the public sector and within the newly-created State Owned Enterprises (Pawson et al., 1996), shipping (Morris, 1999), and within the manufacturing sector (Hazledine, 1998). Redundancies in the late 1980s and early 1990s contributed to growing unemployment in New Zealand. In 1986 and 1987 the unemployment rate was 4%. However, unemployment rose steadily from 1988 and peaked at 10% for the years 1991 to 1994 and declined to 7% for the years 1995 to 1997 (Statistics New Zealand, 1998, Key Labour Market Statistics, Figure 2.1). By 1999 the unemployment rate fell steadily from 6.3% to 5.4% in December 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001, HLFS Table 1). However, while unemployment fell, new job growth has primarily been in part-time work, with many of those occupying these jobs reporting a desire for more work (Statistics New Zealand, 1998).

From the 1970s unemployment has disproportionately affected Maori and Pacific Island people in New Zealand. Statistics New Zealand (1996) note that the contraction of the manufacturing sector disproportionately affected Maori men. During the period 1986 and 1991 Maori men's employment rate dropped by 21.9%. Maori women where also disproportionately affected by job loss during the 1986 to 1991 period when their employment rate dropped from 45% to 35.3%. In comparison non-Maori men and women's participation rate dropped 8.7 and 1.7% respectively in the same period. During the period 1991 to 1996 Maori participation rates in employment began to rise, along with an increase in economic activity (Statistics New Zealand, 1996).

Harbridge et al. (2000) report changes to redundancy provision in employment contracts in New Zealand. In 1996, only 2% of the contracts in their study affecting 6,000 employees had no redundancy payment provision. By the year 2000, 6% of contracts affecting 21,000 employees had no redundancy payment provisions. They also note that between 1996 and 2000, there was a trend to limit employer liability for redundancy payments.

The impact of real or impending unemployment receives a variety of interpretations. Dent (1995) suggests that periods of unemployment provide the opportunity to renew skills in order to become more marketable in the ever-changing work environment; and to spend time with family and friends; and to develop community interests. In contrast, Watts (1997) argues that unemployment is of great concern to those people who find themselves pushed and pulled in and out of employment as a result of numerical flexibility practices:

> For those with low skills, flexibility becomes a euphemism for naked exercise of labour-market power: their labour can be exploited on low wages, with no benefits and no security, and they can be thrown back on to the labour market - without any sense of corporate responsibility - when their labour is no longer needed. The combination of flexible labour markets, high unemployment and poverty traps induced by current social-security arrangements means that unemployment is increasingly concentrated in particular households and communities (p. 3).

Along with the promise that increased flexibility would lead to increased productivity, came the promise that such increases would lead to greater wellbeing for all. Yet, studies in various Western economies find that as unemployment rises there are increased incidences of social withdrawal, anxiety, stress, physical and mental illness, alcoholism, drug abuse, family violence, child neglect, poverty entrapment, 'hate group' participation, suicide, and crime (Ehrensal, 1995; McBride, 1999; Uchitelle, & Kleinfeld, 1996).

3.3.4.5 Redistributing Income

The promise that increased profitability would protect the incomes for all seems also not to be born out in the statistics pertaining to income levels. Perkin (1996) and Mander (1996), for example, note the exponential pay increases of top executives compared with their previous income, and to the income levels of workers. Ehrensal (1995) reports that some laid-off managers found replacement work that offered as little as $5 per hour. Other workers have experienced wage stagnation or decreased incomes and increased work-time commitment.

While many Western countries celebrated falling unemployment in the latter part of the 1990s, job creation has often been within the low-paid periphery sector (McBride, 1999). As noted in the Economist (2000), the economic boom of the 1990s in the U.S has been lauded as the first expansionary moment that has not translated into higher wages or prices. Various demographic and political reasons are offered as possible explanations for this low-wage economic boom. First, the labour market has expanded due to a reduction in early retirement, welfare reforms resulting in more single mothers requiring paid employment, and a rise in illegal immigrants working. Second, there seems to be a change in the relationship between unemployment and inflation. A third explanation is based on reports of increased worker insecurity. Workers "might place a higher premium on keeping whatever job (at whatever pay)" (The Economist, 2000, p. 36). The United States Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan also attributes the economic boom coupled with wage stagnation, to worker insecurity (Waikato Times, 2001). Thus, even though more people were in work in the United States, this has not necessarily translated into better wages, working conditions, or employment security.

Similar wage trends have been apparent in New Zealand. Between 1982 and 1984 New Zealand experienced a wage and price freeze under the National Government (Harbridge & McCaw, 1990). The wage freeze was lifted in 1984 with the defeat of the National Government, and a new agreement between government, employers and unions was achieved that allowed for more flexible wage bargaining. Further provision for greater wage flexibility was included in the Labour Relations Act 1987 (Harbridge & McCaw, 1990). Since the Employment Contract Act 1991, there have been reports of the reduction in wages, reduced payments for new employees, and the reduction or removal of penal rates and overtime payments (Dannin, 1995; Harbridge, Crawford and Kiely, 1997; Harbridge et al., 2000, McLaughlin, 1999).

A longitudinal study by Harbridge et al. (2000) of bargaining trends since the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act records wage differences in the period from 1991 to 2000. They note that in June 1992 10% of contracts decreased wages,

but this figure declined between December 1992 and June 1996, and by December 1996 wage decreases stopped. In contrast, between June 1992 and December 1993, some contracts received increases of 10% or more, however this trend also stopped by December 1996. Contracts receiving zero pay increases peaked in June 1992 at 44% and declined to 25% by June 1995, after which time contracts with no pay increases declined sharply. By 1997 they note that nearly three quarters of wage contracts achieved wage increases of between 2 and 4.9%. They also note that wage differentials between industries and sectors continued to increase in 2000, albeit at a lower rate than in previous years.

Average hourly rates for part-time work are lower than that of full-time work (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). In 1999, the average hourly rate for part-time work was $13.49 compared with $17.26 for full-time work (Statistics New Zealand, 1999, Income Survey, Table 11). By 2000 the average hourly rate for part-time work had dropped to $12.66, while for full-time work it had increased slightly to $17.37 per hour (Statistics New Zealand, 2000).

Restructuring and downward pressure on wages has also contributed to the growing number of the working poor. Although in full-time employment, inadequate wages and salaries reduce people to living in or marginally above poverty (Kossek et al, 1997). Kossek et al. note that jobs paying poverty wages typically are not linked to the traditionally conceived organisational career ladders; tenure for these people does not accrue opportunities to move into better paying positions. Further, Uchitelle and Kleinfield (1996) note many new jobs have been created in small companies that offer lower pay, fewer (if any) benefits, and part-time or insecure temporary positions than larger firms.

3.3.4.6 Effects of Flexibility on Men, Women and Minorities

There is growing evidence to support the argument that flexible labour practices affect men, women and racial minorities differently. In the United States, women and racial minorities are over-represented in most forms of flexible work arrangements. Men are more likely than women to be independent contractors and are more likely to be

satisfied with their work arrangements (Rosenberg & Lapidus, 1999). In Hong Kong and Taiwan, women family members frequently provide cheap or free labour for their male partner's business, and similar patterns have been found in Italy (Lui & Chiu, 1999; Yeandle, 1999). Cousins (1999) reports that in the European Union, most of the job growth during the period 1991- 1994 was in part-time or contractual work. She notes that men are most likely to gain temporary contracts while women are more likely to gain part-time work. Women have also been found to provide inexpensive flexible domestic labour for other women who have a stronger (more secure?) attachment to the labour market (Yeandle, 1999). Burgess and Strachan (1999) suggest that the gendered segregation of employment between secure and insecure work places downward pressure on existing conditions of employment for all workers. Thus, they argue, labour flexibility and downward pressure on incomes and working conditions cannot be analysed without consideration of the role of women's unpaid and poorly-paid productive contribution to business, the economy, and the global context.

3.3.5 Concluding Thoughts

Throughout the 1990s the trend towards organisational and labour flexibility has intensified and created a new working environment. New technology and downsizing has displaced workers at all levels within organisations and within most industries. Labour flexibility strategies have led to downward pressure on incomes and employment conditions, employment insecurity, and unemployment for many in New Zealand as well as abroad. In this environment, the categories of 'core' and 'periphery' workers as defined by Atkinson in 1984, poorly describe attachment to the labour market. Instead, McBride (1999) suggests that within this new employment environment characterised by job insecurity, attachment to the labour force is better described in terms of "the unemployed, the precariously employed, the fully employed, and those who usually work long hours ('the over employed')" (p. 16). McBride argues job insecurity and increased stress unite all these people.

While there is evidence of increased forms of flexibility in New Zealand, no comprehensive research has studied the implications for workers; for example, how many people are positively or adversely affected by workplace change. Advocates of flexibility point to job growth, improved GDP, and declining unemployment figures, as evidence that flexibility has provided benefits to all of New Zealand. However, others argue that the improved 'flexibility' has only benefited some, at the expense of the majority of New Zealanders who have experienced deterioration in income, work conditions and job security. McLaughlin (1999) points out that real wage decline achieved in the early 1990s has not been offset by subsequent wage increases in the latter part of the 1990s. Employment growth has often been in the low-wage service sectors and in part-time work. Workplace reform has also disproportionately affected women and Maori in New Zealand in terms of low income, redundancy and unemployment, and concentration in part-time and casual work arrangements. These changes to work have required a different form of understanding of what work means, and indeed, what career means.

As the organisation of employment has changed, so too has the associated career discourse. Career paths, rewards and motivations embedded in hierarchical bureaucratic systems are now viewed as inconsistent with the emerging flexible forms of work. Contemporary career theorists draw on changes to work as indicating the need for citizens to reconceptualise what it means to have a career. These theorists point out that employees of the future need to become flexible themselves to maintain lifelong employment in a labour market that does not offer job security. The following section reviews the emergence of contemporary career theories throughout the late 1980s and 1990s.

3.4 Changing Career Theory, Models, and Definitions

Organisational restructuring, downsizing, and the increase use of contracting out, part-time and temporary working arrangements have contributed to employment insecurity for many. The resulting flatter organisational structures have reduced the possibility for upward mobility for those who are employed (Ehrensal, 1995). For many,

frequent relocation and continuous downsizing means employers might no longer guarantee life long employment. Also downsizing or outplacement can lead to over-employment for those who retain their jobs, and temporary or permanent unemployment for others. These changes to the structure of work mean that traditional career theories, concepts, practices, and indeed, definitions are no longer useful discussions of work opportunities in the 1990s and beyond. The prescriptions embedded in traditional career models are held to be inadequate guides to help people plan their career in the current and future world of work. In the next section traditional forms of career definitions, theory, and practices will be reviewed, with a focus on the perceived limitations of the bureaucratic career model in light of workplace changes. This will be followed by a review of contemporary career definitions and descriptive models that are perceived to be more reflective of the types of careers available and practised in the current employment environment. The section concludes by reviewing a prescriptive model promoted as a useful vehicle for contemporary career management.

3.4.1 Traditional Career Definitions, Forms and Models

Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) provide a useful discussion on historic changes to the meaning and use of career. They note traditionally there have been two ways of viewing career. First, career can be viewed as a property of an occupation or an organisation. As a property of an occupation, for example 'law', a traditional career might involve a sequence of positions forming an upward path through the occupation but not necessarily curtailed to one firm or organisation. As a property of an organisation (e.g. a law firm), a career may be represented as mobility up hierarchical ranks. Greenhaus and Callanan suggest the second traditional approach views career as the property of an individual. Embedded in this view is the assumption that everyone has a unique career.

While these two approaches view the site of career differently, Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) suggest that three themes of advancement, professionalism, and stability are associated with both traditional notions of career. The theme of

advancement defines career as involving increases in status, position or remuneration. The second theme links having a career to professional work such as lawyers or doctors, thus those in non-professional occupations were deemed not to have a career. Third, to have a career requires stability within an occupation or series of related jobs. The bureaucratic career model is one form the traditional career took. As a property of an organisation, the three themes of advancement, professionalism (through connection to management positions), and stability are central to the bureaucratic career. The next section reviews the bureaucratic career model as an example of a traditional career.

3.4.1.1 The Traditional Organisationally Bound 'Bureaucratic Career'

Savage (1998) draws on Weber to suggest the creation of the bureaucratic career is a by-product of the development of modern bureaucracies and has emerged in tandem with modernity itself. The notion of career grew alongside the growth in the size of business enterprise. Authors such as Chandler (1977) and Weber (1978), for example, view the creation of career (or internal labour markets) as a rational response to the growth in size and complexity of organisations. Such a view sees career as a way to create cohesion and organisational efficiency by ensuring fit between employees and job requirements, and as mechanisms to retain staff in times of high employment (Savage, 1998).

The bureaucratic career is defined by upward mobility within the same organisation. Bureaucratic structures define each occupational and organisational position by rules and procedures. Job categories are ranked in a hierarchical order. Promotion is determined in part by employees learning the requirements of the current position and by their suitability to 'fit' the next position up the job hierarchy. Career advancement is achieved by gaining ever-higher positions within the organisation. The rewards of advancement include pay increases and certain benefits. Secure life-long appointments enable the development of internal labour markets, which help retain business knowledge within the firm. Tenure and organisationally-bound careers, or 'jobs for life' are fundamental to the bureaucratic career model. The long-term nature of employment means opportunities forgone at any stage during the career can be gained

at later stages when higher ranks are achieved (Moss Kanter, 1989). Within any bureaucratic organisation, careers are described by the rules and procedures associated with each job, and by the hierarchy of positions. These descriptions can be translated into prescriptive guides for employees seeking an upward mobile career. That is, employees can use job descriptions, rules, and procedures to guide their own behaviour to comply with current positional requirements, and to ready themselves for the next job within the hierarchy. In this sense, Moss Kanter (1989) argues that:

> In the typical corporcratic career, all of the elements of career opportunity - responsibilities, challenges, influence, formal training and development, compensation - are closely tied to rank in an organization ... employment by an organization is a necessity for the managerial job ladder to have any meaning at all. There could be no corporate career 'ladder' without a structure of ranks and grades, defining by level who can do what and who can get what (p. 306).

Given the pyramidal structure of bureaucracies, career plateauing inevitably occurs for most members of the organisation. With notions of merit embedded in bureaucratic structures and career models, such plateauing can be explained by a deficiency within the candidate, hiding the exclusive nature of pyramidal structures. Moss Kanter argues pyramidal hierarchies and structures are legitimised by people accepting their place within the organisation.

In terms of career opportunity, these places may be crudely described as those falling within the career structure and those disconnected from it. Consistent with traditional notions of career, the bureaucratic career model describes the career patterns of what Clegg & Dunkerley (1980) term the top strata of the primary labour market, which are typically white-collar male workers (Moss Kanter, 1989). While many white collar workers are denied access to bureaucratic careers, labour market segmentation has been found to direct blue-collar workers, women and minority groups away from organisations and positions within organisations that offer upward-mobile-careers (Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980). As such, these groups of people have been denied access to the rewards of increased pay and benefits associated with upward mobility (Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980). It has long been established that women and minority groups entering traditionally white male-dominated industries and occupations face obstacles

to upward-mobile-careers (Newell, 1995). Obstacles include positions falling outside of formal career structures (Pfeffer, 1989; Rosser & Davies, 1987), lack of training opportunities (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Wickham, 1986), differentiated job descriptions (Beechey & Perkins, 1987), and not fitting the image of the typical manager (Walters, 1987).

Deetz (1992) argues that the exclusivity of bureaucratic career structures indicates that gaining acceptance of one's position within the hierarchy is a complex process; one that involves the creation of employee consent to the seemingly rational structure of bureaucracies. Deetz makes his argument by drawing on Burawoy's (1979) analysis of Gramci's notion of consent creation. For Burawoy (1979), consent is generated through participation in making choices. Burawoy argues consent emerges through a conception of experience and ideology developed in the work process. Deetz explains Burawoy's position:

> Experience of a people, and not just their actual situation, is an active force in decision making. Experience is not a personal or subjective thing but arises out of the concrete material situation, one's position. However, the conditions for the production of experience are hidden, and hence it appears personal, natural and inevitable. In this sense...experience can be said to be ideological (p. 205).

Therborn (1978) argues ideology functions by moulding personality through a process of subjection and qualification. From birth, new-born humans are subjected and subject themselves to specific social order and the differentiated roles they will be expected to meet in society. Therborn argues that:

> 1 Ideological formation tells individuals *what exists*, who they are, how the world is, how they are related to that world. In this manner, people are allocated different kinds and amounts of identity, trust and everyday knowledge. The visibility of modes of life, the actual relationship of performance to reward, the existence, extent and character of exploitation and power are all structured in class-specific models of ideological formation.
> 2 Ideology tells *what is possible*, providing varying types and quantities of self-confidence and ambition, and different levels of aspiration.
> 3 Ideology tells *what is right* and wrong, good and bad, thereby determining not only conceptions of legitimacy of power, but also work-ethics, notions of leisure, and views of inter-personal relationships, from comradeship to sexual love (as cited in Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980, p. 409, emphasis in original).

Deetz (1992), however, argues that ideology is not imposed on people from above, rather our actual experiences shape and (re)produce ideology. We then express aspects of ideology through our life experiences. Thus, Deetz suggests, we use ideology to organise theories, values and attitudes; to shape what we view to be our interests, and the processes that we might engage in to accomplish those interests as much as uncritical acceptance of prevailing ideology sets the parameters of reasonable choice. Deetz (1992) argues that in this sense "interests, choices and the giving of consent are produced out of the concrete relations in the work process" (p. 205). Consent generates not from rules, but from the activities people undertake in complying with the rules.

Rather than people accepting their position within bureaucratic structures as Moss Kanter suggests, or indeed, accepting that 'ideology' 'tells' us what exists, what is possible, and what is right or wrong, as Therborn suggests, a more complex analysis of consent creation is explored in this thesis. Bureaucratic rules may be viewed as expressing in written and unwritten forms, a particular ideological perspective of how to manage complex organisations. These rules and relationships of positions to each other, as manifest within a bureaucratic structure, may be considered to form the basis of what Deetz termed our 'concrete material situation'. We may draw upon such rules to shape our own interests, then to define paths of action to achieve those interests. Consent and compliance to a particular ideology is achieved when we draw upon concrete material circumstances to frame our interests, make choices, and take actions to achieve those interests. Success or failure to achieve a 'career' may be explained by applying the ideological values of merit or rationality embedded in the bureaucratic rhetoric. Consent to bureaucratic hierarchies may be achieved when individuals' apply a particular ideological perspective that upholds existing positional arrangements. Thus one may come to view, or explain, their career situation as a 'quasi-natural' outcome of their efforts to apply the bureaucratic rules to themselves (O'Neill, 1986). Thus, compliance to the rules is thus achieved. Processes that may led to consent and compliance to particular 'career metaphors' is further developed in chapter four.

The bureaucratic career model has been challenged for a range of reasons. As already noted, women and minorities were largely excluded from the traditional bureaucratic career, initially as an outcome of their exclusion from various forms of work and later as a result of exclusionary practices within work organisations. The Civil Rights movements within the United States of America throughout the 1960s led to anti-discrimination legislation in America and subsequently other Western nations, and ultimately taken up by the United Nations. One practical outcome of these movements has been the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation including Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and Affirmative Action (AA) legislation and policy initiatives in many Western nations and within organisations. The focus of these initiatives was to enable women and minorities to participate in all forms of employment on an equal footing with (white) men (Humphries & Grice, 1994). Humphries and Grice argue that by the early 1990s, a pragmatic discourse of 'valuing of diversity' began to emerge. Rather than representing a moral project, 'valuing diversity' was promoted as a pragmatic solution to contemporary management concerns associated with demographic changes in the workforce and employers need to widen the potential pool of employees. Transforming organisations to value diversity could be achieved, for example, by offering training and refocusing cultural norms to be more inclusive of a new, diverse staff composition. The social movements of the 1960s and subsequent legislative changes signified a display of dissent to wider societal and organisational discriminatory practices. However, these movements might indicate consent to wider societal and organisational structures and rules, as the limited (or exclusionary) application of the rules were being questioned, not the rules themselves. For Humphries and Grice, the privileging of a few individuals from previously excluded groups through the application of EEO and AA policies does not represent the achievement of equity. Rather, in the wider global context characterised by diminishing opportunities for all, these practices might be viewed as techniques which "assimilate women and men of any culture into unquestioning acceptance of a global culture in which the values and practices which maximise the interests of capitalists prevail" (Humphries & Grice, 1994, p. 225). By assimilating diverse people in this way, the moral cause for anti-discriminatory

practices and participation seems to have been co-opted into the mechanisms of capitalism.

A second challenge to the bureaucratic career model comes from some commentators who view the themes of advancement, professionalism, and stability as too elitist, and too narrowly defined. These authors argue for a broader view of career that is more reflective of the multiple ways in which individuals express themselves throughout their working lives, a point which is elaborated in Section 3.7.2 below.

More recently, however, the bureaucratic career model is thought to be unsustainable in light of the changing structure of work. The bureaucratic career is described by continuous employment within one organisation and includes upward mobility based on perceptions of meritocracy, job security and stability, and organisationally designed and resourced training and development. Flexibility strategies adopted by managers and the ensuing restructuring, downsizing, flatter organisational structures, and changes to the structure of work have effectively ended this form of career (Fournier, 1996; Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994; Hall et al., 1996; Moss Kanter, 1989; Watts, 1997). Flattened structures reduce the possibility for upward mobility. Continuous downsizing and relocation coupled with the growth of the periphery workforce through contracting out, part-time and temporary working arrangements has led to employment insecurity within most industrial sectors and organisations (Ehrensal, 1995). In this environment, where many people can experience over-employment, under-employment and unemployment, many are beginning to challenge the bureaucratic career model as a useful description of career. Furthermore, these commentators are challenging the usefulness of the bureaucratic career model as a prescriptive tool to guide people in managing their own career. Moss Kanter (1989) argues:

> Bureaucratic-corpocratic assumptions about steady, long-term rise up a hierarchy of ever-more-lucrative jobs give way to new realities and new expectations: long-term uncertainty, the need for portable skills, the likelihood of a stab at being in business for oneself. Climbing the career ladder is being replaced by hopping from job to job. Reliance on organizations to give shape to a career is being replaced by reliance on self (p. 299).

In light of these challenges to the bureaucratic career model, the very notion of career is being challenged. New descriptive and prescriptive career models are being developed that promise to prepare people for employment opportunities available in the new work environment. The following section discusses the redefinition of career and reviews some of the predominant contemporary career models.

3.4.2 Redefining Career: New Descriptions

In harmony with the changes in the nature of paid employment and the challenges to the bureaucratic career model, Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) offer a more inclusive definition of what it means to have a career. For them, career ought to be conceived of as *"the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life"* (1994, p. 5, emphasis in original). Their definition extends the notion of having a career to anyone engaged in work-related activity, and for them reflects the changes in work and organisational structures. They also note that this definition includes objective and subjective elements. For them, objective elements include a series of job positions, job duties or activities, and work-related decisions. Subjective elements may include interpretations of work-related events, "work aspirations, expectations, values, needs, and feelings about particular work experiences" (p. 5). In a subsequent edition of their book, Greenhaus, Callanan, and Godshalk (2000) explain:

> the definition's omission of advancement in the corporate hierarchy as a defining characteristic of a career meshes well with the limited mobility opportunities within today's flat organization. Similarly, to require that a career provide stability within one organisation – or even one career path – is unrealistic in today's world of downsizing, contingent workers, and constantly changing jobs (p. 9).

Greenhaus and Callanan (1994), and in their later version, Greenhaus, Callanan and Godshalk (2000) believe that modern careers are independent from organisational settings and the career paths that exist within them. This definition of career is purported to be more inclusive of the wider commitments of human beings and, as such, to describe more varied career patterns consistent with the current work environment and people's supposed social values. New and varied careers have been identified and described, extending the notion of career beyond traditional forms.

Moss Kanter (1989) identifies two new career patterns: the professional career and the entrepreneurial career. Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth, and Larsson (1996) identify four distinct career patterns that include the linear career, the expert career, the spiral career, and the transitory career. Handy's (1994) portfolio career and Hall's (1996) protean career models further contribute to the literature of transformed careers in the 1990s. Each of these descriptions of what a contemporary career might look reflects one or more of the emergent changes to employment. Thus, like the myriad forms of flexibility discussed earlier in this chapter, these contemporary career descriptions may be viewed as specific metaphors describing particular employment trends apparent in the previous two decades.

3.4.2.1 The Entrepreneurial Career

Moss Kanter (1989) suggests that entrepreneurial careers can be organisationally bound or can take the form of being in business for oneself. For Moss Kanter organisationally-bound entrepreneurial careers occur when a new product line or service of value is grown within an organisation. Career growth occurs when the new product line or service becomes established with the supporting roles growing beneath the entrepreneur (Moss Kanter, 1989). Reward is linked to owning a share of the new line. She suggests entrepreneurial careers attract higher potential salaries, more responsibility and freedom, and independence and control. However, such careers are inherently risky, as there is no long-term career stability guaranteed. Moss Kanter argues organisations can limit risk of internal entrepreneurial careers by supporting employees to set up external businesses through franchising.

Despite the risk of going into business, Moss Kanter notes more people are pursuing such entrepreneurial careers due to increased job insecurity and redundancies within large corporations, and through a desire to become one's own boss. Such businesses may become subcontractors to larger corporations, resulting in cost reductions for corporations and the ability for the entrepreneur to manage their own working lives. The individual entrepreneurial career is in harmony with Atkinson's (1984) description of sub-contract firms within the periphery labour market and Brunhes' (1989) notion of externalisation.

3.4.2.2 The Professional Career

Moss Kanter (1989) characterises the professional career as built on having a valued skill or knowledge base in a particular area. Occupational status is gained through the degree of skill or knowledge possessed by an individual. Professional careers can occur within one organisation or across many organisations. For organisationally-embedded professional careers, career progression is more likely to involve job expansion through increased knowledge and skill, as opposed to upward mobility. However, professional bodies can provide the key organising principle for those who engage in professional careers that span many organisations, for example consultants, lawyers, or accountants.

Moss Kanter argues successful professional careers rely on reputation. Reputation is built through successful completion of work, and increases the chances to gain the next project or job within a firm. Mobility in professional careers is through finding the next contract or position within a firm. According to Moss Kanter, to remain in paid employment and to expand one's career, professionals rely on making a name for themselves and having their success stories known; peers then, play an important role in reputation-building. Whereas bureaucratic careers rely on length of service and business knowledge, professional careers rely on knowledge and skills that are generic and portable. Moss Kanter (1989) suggests that in the current environment which is characterised by change and innovation, "the skills to be flexible and learn are more important as a way to build the future than long-term company experience that helps to preserve traditions and routines" (p. 312).

3.4.2.3 The Expert Career

Similar to the professional career, the expert career described by Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth and Larson (1996) is built around an occupational field or speciality, and advancement is seen in terms of gaining more knowledge and technical skill in a particular field. However, unlike Moss Kanter, Brousseau et al. argue that because expert careers require a high level of skill a certain amount of job security and stability is required. In their view, without job security there will be little incentive to invest in additional training and development. Further, Brousseau et al. argue even in

the current turbulent employment environment there is a need for highly specialised knowledge and skill. Experts, in their opinion, in part provide the basis for innovation and change. For them, not all jobs are suitable for redesign along the lines of Atkinson's (1984) notion of functional flexibility. Even in the new turbulent environment some work will always require advanced knowledge and skill. Brousseau et al. (1996) note:

> In an organisation where everyone is expected to do anything and to be ready for change at a moment's notice, there is unlikely to be much incentive or opportunity to invest in the development of highly sophisticated and technical skills. The jack-of-all-trades may be essential in some work situations, but not sufficiently skilled or knowledgeable in many others (p. 4).

Similarly, these theorists argue that in the new turbulent environment there is still a need for upward-mobile careers to retain business knowledge within an organisation. They refer to this career form as the linear career pattern.

3.4.2.4 The Linear Career

The linear career pattern is similar to the bureaucratic form. As with the bureaucratic career, the main focus of the linear career is to gain upward mobility. While Brousseau et al. (1996) acknowledge there are fewer opportunities to gain upward mobility, such a career path provides organisations with stability in terms of key personnel, business knowledge, and committed staff. They argue that even in a turbulent environment, organisations need committed staff who identify emotionally with an organisation. For them, it is the tenured staff who have business knowledge, and are concerned with the long-term survival of the organisation and as such, are likely to be the drivers of innovation and change required in a competitive market.

3.4.2.5 The Spiral Career

Brousseau et al. (1996) characterise the spiral career path by "periodic major moves across occupational areas, specialities, or disciplines" (p. 6). Typically, this career path involves shifts that build on current knowledge, for example, moving from engineering to product development. In this sense, Brousseau et al. argue that an in-depth level of competence is gained in one area but moves occur before mastery is achieved, with movement likely to occur every seven to 10 years.

3.4.2.6 The Transitory Career

Brousseau et al. (1996) note that the transitory career is characterised by constant change or movement from one job or field to an unrelated area every three to five years. Traditionally, such a career path indicated employee unreliability. The transitory career most reflects the current discourse on career management of job-hopping and gaining marketable skills for the next move. People who pursue transitory careers might be considered to be both functionally and numerically flexible. Such people show willingness to gain new and different skills and to move from one organisation to another, or from one field to another.

3.4.2.7 The Portfolio Career

Handy (1994 and 1989) has built his notion of portfolio career on his earlier work on organisational restructuring. For Handy organisations need to determine core and periphery operations, and contract out non-core business activities. Handy (1989) describes this new organisational structure as the 'Shamrock firm'. His notion of the portfolio career centres on individuals working lives reflecting the traditional form of professional career. Handy (1994) notes:

> More and more individuals are behaving as professionals always have, charging fees not wages. They find they are 'going portfolio' or 'going plural'. 'Going portfolio' ... means exchanging full-time employment for independence. The portfolio is a collection of different bits and pieces of work for different clients. The word 'job' now means a client (p. 175).

Thus, according to Handy, individual careers will become disconnected from organisations and job placement within them. Rather, career will be built around a portfolio of arrangements including wage work, fee work, homework, and community work. Such a career requires updated marketable skills, individual flexibility to move to new contracts, wage or fee work and so on. In this respect Handy, clearly makes a link between organisational and labour flexibility and appropriate career forms.

3.4.2.8 The Protean Career

Hall first defines the protean career in 1976. As such, he is one of the early contributors to the new paradigm to emerge during the 1980s and more so, in the 1990s. Hall's (1976) early definition of a protean career pre-dates the emergent changes to work as evidenced throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Yet, his definition

emerged around the time that the world economy was said to be showing signs of an economic crisis. Hall (1976) defines the protean career as:

> a process which the person, not the organization, is managing. It consists of all the person's varied experiences in education, training, work in several organizations, changes in occupational field, etc. The protean career is *not* what happens to the person in any one organization. The protean person's own personal career choices and search for self-fulfilment are the unifying or integrative elements in his or her life. The criterion of success is internal (psychological success), not external.
>
> In short, the protean career is shaped more by the individual than by the organization and may be redirected from time to time to meet the needs of the person (p. 201).

In later writings Hall (1996) elaborates on the concept of protean career and its relevance to the contemporary working environment. For Hall the protean career offers three forms of individual flexibility and autonomy that are useful in the current work environment. First, as with Greenhaus et al's. (2000) definition of career, the protean career might include any form of work experience. To have a protean career can involve any form of movement, including upward, sideways, between forms of work and organisations. Second, the protean career enlarges the 'career space'. In this sense, the concept of career has been expanded to embrace work and non-work aspects of people's lives. The rewards of career are refocused from success in terms of upward mobility and ever increasing pay to intrinsic rewards. Psychological success can be achieved through working from home, taking career breaks to raise children or care for the elderly, and so on. Third, the protean career redefines the relationship between the organisation and the employee. Where the organisation is central to the traditional career, in the protean career the organisation merely provides the space where an individual can pursue their personal aspirations.

Hall believes that the future career environment will be characterised by constant movement form job to job and between organisations. Because of this, we will need to learn new skills throughout our working life. For Hall (1996) transitions from one job to the next are more likely to be successful if "a person has the ability to self-reflect, to continue assessing and learning about her- or himself, and to change behaviour and attitudes" (p. 32). Thus, for Hall, the protean career is characterised by

continuous learning, reflection, and job change; the protean careerist is characterised as a 'free agent' to move from job to job and between employers. For Hall, preparing for job change is as much about identifying and fulfilling the needs of the self (psychological success) as it is about learning new skills.

3.4.3 Bureaucratic versus Contemporary Careers

While multiple forms of career have been developed as early as 1976, but mostly during the late 1980s and 1990s, Fournier (1996) suggests there are three distinctive features of contemporary careers that differentiate them from the bureaucratic career model. First, Fournier notes that "the new career offers different trajectories; it is discontinuous and disorderly, it involves radical moves (between employers, areas and types of employment), and it substitutes lateral development and job enrichment for promotion" (p. 2). Movement can be sideways, or away from organisations and occupations. Second, individuals, as opposed to organisations, are responsible for their own careers. Individuals need to assess their own strengths, weaknesses and opportunities, take advantage of the opportunities, and prepare themselves with skills and knowledge for current and future career moves. Third, "the new career blurs previously established and 'stifling' boundaries between work/non-work, between types and areas of employment, and between organisations" (Fournier, 1996, p. 3).

A fourth difference between bureaucratic and contemporary careers is associated with the location of rules or prescriptions guiding career management. In organisationally bound careers, rules of advancement are embedded within job descriptions, training requirements, and so on. These rules might act as clues or prescriptions to follow to guide one's career. As organisations downsize and shift responsibility of career management to individuals the site of the rules to guide career management appear to have shifted externally to organisations. As Carson and Carson-Phillips (1997) note in the last decade over 3000 'self-help books' have been written about career management that:

> encourage employees to be self-reliant, to realize that organisations are not prepared to enter into lifelong partnerships with them, and to take charge of their own careers. Waiting to help discontented workers are career

> counsellors, members of what the Bureau of Labour Statistics predicts will be one of the fastest growing occupations over the next ten years (p. 62).

Thus, the prescriptions associated with modern careers are not to be found inside the organisation, but outside of it through the use of 'self-help books' and career counsellors. Such self-help books and career counsellors guide individuals through the process of taking responsibility for their own career in the current turbulent employment environment. In these ways we may learn the new rules associated with having a contemporary career, and compliance and consent can be achieved when we act upon these new rules. The ideology that guides us to act in certain ways is built into our commonsense understanding that the world of work has changed and we must take personal responsibility to change to fit this new world of work. Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) agree with this position and also argue that individuals need to be aware of the multiple career options available and plan their lives accordingly by managing their own career. Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) first offered what might be viewed as a 'typical' normative model for career management. This same model has been presented in subsequent work, most recently in Greenhaus, Callanan, and Godshalk (2000); testament, perhaps, of their conviction of the usefulness of their normative career management model to guide individuals to manage their own careers. Because this model is 'typical' of modern forms of career management prescriptions, it is briefly discussed below.

3.4.3.1 New Prescriptions to Career Management

Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) argue that to "*manage a career is to make a decision, or more properly, a series of decisions* (p. 17. Italics in original). They believe a properly managed career will lead to individual as well as organisational benefits. For them, individuals will have more satisfying and fulfilling lives, and be more productive in their work when their work experiences and jobs are consistent with their individual aspirations, values, beliefs, and skills. Greenhaus et al. also report properly managed careers lead to better job offers and higher pay levels. Organisational performance is thought to improve as a result of career management and planning, as employees better 'fit' the organisational requirements in terms of skill values. These benefits are said to extend to wider society as employees become

happier citizens, and improved organisational performance translates into improved economic performance at the national level. These benefits are incorporated in Greenhaus and Callanan's (1994) career management model that "attempts to optimize the compatibility or 'fit' between individuals and their work environments" (p. 20). In this sense, 'fit' refers to all aspects of a person in relation to a particular job opportunity and career path.

They offer an eight-step plan to guide individuals through the career management process. Their career management model is typical of any planning process. They advise the individual to explore the external labour market for opportunities and threats, explore the self for strengths, weaknesses, aspirations and life goals, set realistic career goals in light of one's own needs, aspirations, skills and the availability of work, and then implement, monitor and review progress of the career plan. The prescriptive nature of Greenhaus and Callanan's (1994) model guides individuals to recognise themselves and the type of work opportunities that are available in an increasingly changing environment. Through self-exploration, the individual defines who they are in terms of their own aspirations, attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, and skills. Individuals are invited to examine their personal commitments, such as family, religious affiliation, and so on. In so doing, individuals must determine their suitability for different career patterns. Through devising a career strategy, individuals are instructed to change themselves to 'fit' career opportunities in the work environment either through training, education, meeting the right people, and so on, or by changing their career aspirations to become more realistic. They place the responsibility for career management with individuals. This career management model and others like it do not require individuals to question the external environment, merely to place themselves within it. The invitation to investigate the external environment is narrowly defined as an investigation into the current labour market, and subsequently to devise a plan to fit oneself within it. Such a prescription may be thought to uphold the conditions of the current working environment, a point discussed in full in the following chapter.

3.5 Concluding Thoughts

Through processes of globalisation (discussed in Chapter Two), cultural, political and economic arrangements between and within nation states, with a particular focus on opening up free trade, are being negotiated. The result has been an intensification of competition on a global scale, facilitated by mechanical technological developments and developments in management techniques. 'Flexibility' is one of these techniques, and in this thesis 'career discourse' is regarded as contributing to the disciplining of populations through normalising a change in the arrangement within which 'choice' must be made (Deetz, 1992). The application of career planning may facilitate individual acceptance of a need for organisational and personal flexibility. Flexibility models can be viewed in this context as management strategies adopted to varying degrees; for some organisations aimed at securing profit, for others as a means to survive in an increasingly global competitive market. These flexibility strategies have changed the nature of work, and hence, the form careers may take throughout the 1990s and beyond. In light of this, contemporary career models might be viewed as individual strategies aimed at maintaining employment or taking responsibility for under- or unemployment in a rapidly changing work environment. Viewed in this light, such models in their descriptive and prescriptive capacities do not challenge workplace change; they merely provide guidance to individuals on how to 'fit' neatly and productively within it. The notion of the self-reliant, autonomous individual is built into the new career theories, concepts, and practices. These are based on underlying assumptions that such individuals can and ought to provide for themselves, and that employers have minimal responsibility for the security of their career or future.

Contemporary career theorists' point to globalisation, technological changes, changing employer and employee relationships, and decreased employment security as 'forces' behind the need for new concepts of career. However, it is my contention that few of these theorists draw attention to the growing gaps between rich and poor, diminishing social safety nets for the temporarily or permanently unemployed in many Western nations, or the societal disruptions associated with employment insecurity. Where

they do, their message is to 'insure' yourself against it through 'future-proofing' your self and your career. In light of this, contemporary career concepts, theories, and models may be conceived of as a new set of rules designed to create consent to facilitate compliance to wider socio-political changes introduced through the processes of globalisation and the implementation of flexibility strategies. As discussed in this chapter, the achievement of consent is a complex process, with the existence of rules but one feature. Consent also requires the willingness of individuals to apply rules and change their behaviour to meet their individual needs. Ideology both frames needs and what might be considered appropriate steps to meet those needs. Where the 'concrete material situation' is changing for many, new career theories might be viewed as a useful set of rules to follow to help secure an income or to have a career, where neither is guaranteed and increasingly deemed to be the responsibility of the individual. In this light, contemporary career management and development theories, models and practices can be viewed as mechanisms for disciplining citizens to accept and consent to workplace change and the changes in social circumstance, that are in part the result of negotiations at the national and international level. Such negotiations, by and large, are outside of the control and influence of many citizens. The following chapter explores more deeply the re-interpretation of contemporary career theories, concepts, practices, and models as a form of disciplinary control. This particular form of disciplinary control is designed to help guide the very shaping of the 'self' to engage citizens and workers to accept uncritically the changes to employment and the wider political and economic frameworks that are under negotiation.

Chapter Four
Re-conceptualising Career Management and Development Discourse

4.1 Introduction

Advocates of the new career discourse draw on the changing work environment as the reason individuals ought to take an active role in managing their own careers. These advocates argue that there will be individual, organisational, and societal benefits from appropriate career development and management. Central to this discourse is an invitation for individuals to follow a career management model and to participate in their (re)creation of 'the self', in order to satisfy their individual needs and maintain employment in a changing work environment. Fulfilling one's dream becomes a matter of taking appropriate actions. These actions might include upskilling, training, and creating more realistic career goals. From this perspective contemporary career management and development discourse can be viewed as providing a functional guide enabling individuals to manage themselves in a changing global economy.

Contemporary career discourse has emerged together with the global neo-liberal discourse discussed in Chapter Two. A critical analysis of global neo-liberalism indicated disparate benefits from this economic arrangement with patterns of inequality exacerbated and poverty affecting women and children disproportionately. In Chapter Three I argued that some individuals do not have the level of control implied in the career models discussed in Section 3.4.2. At the same time economic and political changes in the last 20 years eliminated aspects of the social 'safety nets' of many nations. The choice to implement organisational flexibilities (as discussed in Chapter Three) have resulted in increased job insecurity, global downward pressure on incomes, work intensification, disparate global redistribution of work and income, and contradictory trends of over-employment, under-employment and unemployment for many people. It is within this wider context that individuals are now required to recreate themselves using contemporary career management and development

discourse so they too might enjoy the promised benefits of a properly managed career. Because of the disparate employment-related outcomes currently manifesting under global neo-liberalism, a critical reading of contemporary career discourse seems a useful way to test the robustness of the claims made by the proponents of the emerging career discourse.

Taking my position from Foucault (1977), Rose (1989) and Deetz (1992) I argue that within the wider socio-economic context of neo-liberalism, contemporary career discourse may be reconceptualised as a normalising process guiding the re-engineering of subjectivity around fabrications of atomised individuality. Such a subject necessarily accepts the new conditions of employment as natural and inevitable even though, as argued in Chapter Two and Three, more individuals within the global population seem disadvantaged than are advantaged by these changes. In this thesis I propose that an important feature of the new career discourse might be the assimilation of citizens into wider political, economic and social structural changes that are, by and large, outside their individual control. By directing attention towards notions of individual responsibility and control, career discourse obscures the political processes involved in the creation and dissemination of global neo-liberalism and the participation (wittingly or unwittingly) of people in that achievement. Deetz (1992) suggests the atomisation of citizenship through fabricating individualism in the economic context diminishes the likelihood of a collective response. The promised rewards of self-fulfilment and equitable returns for individualised commitment, embedded in both the tenets of globalisation and the emerging career discourse, were contrasted with the disparate outcomes of globalisation as articulated by critical theorists in Chapter Two and Three. Because of the disparate outcomes of globalisation I am interested in the processes that guide individuals to comply and consent to a new system of securing well-being that has the inherent possibility of leading to decreased life chances for them and their communities.

The notion of controlling populations through macro-level intervention in workplace practice is not a novel idea. At the turn of the twentieth century scientific

management was developed to control workers by focusing on changing the behaviours of individuals through work redesign (Brown, 1997; Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980). The apparent failings of the associated specialisation stimulated the growth in the Human Relations School of Thought with an emphasis on controlling workers through paying attention to human social needs, personality, and the complex relationship between family and work life (Humphries, 1998; Miller & Rose, 1998; Miller & Rose, 1988). Humphries (1998) suggests the work of Taylor and Mayo has much in common; they were both concerned about devising forms of control that sought to establish a belief in harmony and co-operation between management and workers. Humphries notes such "harmony would be more secure should it be established in common-sense, as a taken-for-granted, quasi-natural attitude" (p. 740). While the Human Relations School of Thought and Scientific Management techniques have been discredited (Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980), these forms of control are still evident in many organisations today. Yet, while these forms of control are still influential, I suggest that under the intensification of competition associated with global neo-liberalism are attempts to change the mindsets of citizens, as well as workers, in their expectations of life and work chances. This change is being effected through governance of the 'self' and the emerging interest in the management of the 'soul' (Miller & Rose, 1988). Thus I am interested in understanding the processes involved in changing the understandings of work and employment, of citizens' and workers' ideas of them 'selves', and of the re-fabrication of career around the demands of the global economy.

In this chapter I draw upon the contributions of Foucault (1977), Rose (1989, 1988) and Deetz (1992) in their separate but related frameworks for analysing the re-fabrication of citizens in contemporary society. These authors argue that control of society may be achieved through disciplining individuals through complex but related sets of processes. In Section 4.2, I discuss Foucault's (1977) contribution to the development of the notion of discipline and of the disciplinary society as argued in *Discipline and Punishment.* I draw on Foucault's analysis of Betham's ideal panoptic prison as creating a metaphorical space to create a disciplined society through the

application of hierarchical surveillance, normalising judgements, and examination. While Foucault's analysis is insightful and does provide an analytical space, his focus remains on creating discipline through hierarchical relationships. Rose (1989) builds on Foucault's work to suggest that discipline is created in concert with the application of disciplinary techniques and through the application of what he terms 'technologies of the self' and 'techniques of the self'. Rose places particular emphasis on the role that government, organisations, and experts have in creating discipline and self-discipline in contemporary society. Rose's argument is set out in Section 4.3. Foucault and Rose argue disciplinary control is achieved by normalising individual behaviour and experience. Deetz argues that the norms in contemporary society are increasingly created within and support the needs of the corporate sector. Deetz suggests all other institutions facilitate the dissemination and adoption of these norms within wider society through the processes of deinstitutionalisation and colonisation. Deetz's arguments are discussed in Section 4.4. In Section 4.5, I draw on the theoretical contributions of Foucault, Rose and Deetz to suggest that contemporary career discourse might be viewed as an extension of the disciplinary apparatus in contemporary society. I extend this argument in Section 4.6 to suggest career discourse and the associated apparatus has a particular function in the assimilation of citizens to wider political, economic, and social changes that have been introduced as part of the development and implementation of neo-liberalism globally, and in New Zealand specifically since the reforms of 1984.

4.2 The Panoptic Gaze

Foucault (1977) traces the emergence of what he termed disciplinary control to the development of new techniques for redefining crime and punishment throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He argues that underlying the re-definitions of crime and punishment was a power shift from publicly punishing the body to working on the minds of individuals. For Foucault these new techniques enabling the individualising of crime and punishment represent the beginning phases of the development of the disciplinary society. As Foucault (1977) argues:

> In a disciplinary regime ... individualization is 'descending': as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is

> exercised tend to become more individualized; it is exercised by surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the 'norm as the reference rather than genealogies giving ancestors as points of reference; by 'gaps' rather than by deeds (p. 193).

Foucault argues surveillance, observation, and comparative measures represent new techniques in control, the application of which enable the control of populations through controlling individuals within it. For Foucault (1977), in the disciplinary society individuals are controlled through creating 'the docile body'. He suggests that creating docility represents the 'discovery' of the body as "an object and target of power", once docile, the body may be "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (p. 136). Foucault acknowledges that through the 'improvement' of individuals during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, community life also improved in terms of better health, education, and wealth. These improvements were achieved in part through integrating 'transformed' docile bodies into society in a particular way and in a particular place. In creating the docile body, Foucault argues that populations became controlled through controlling docile individuals, thus placing individuals at the centre of power and control. Individual movements, aptitudes, and gestures became the focus of control. Efficiency of movement became the object of control. Processes as laid out in timetables became the mode of control. Foucault (1977) goes on to say that the new focus, object and mode "made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility [and it is these methods that] might be called 'disciplines'" (p. 137). The disciplines increased the utility of the body by enabling people to do more, yet Foucault argues that discipline decreases political autonomy of individuals as they become obedient to the will of others by learning the techniques prescribed for them. As such, Foucault (1977) claims:

> discipline produces subjected bodies and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies.... In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labour, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination (pp. 137,138).

Foucault (1977) draws on Bentham's panoptic prison as a metaphor to describe the techniques and processes that render bodies docile and hence create a disciplined society. Foucault suggests that the panoptic metaphor provides the 'space' in which the techniques of discipline can be operationalised. The next section briefly describes Bentham's 'ideal' panoptic prison. This will include a discussion of the three associated disciplinary techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination.

4.2.1 Bentham's Panoptic Prison: A Metaphor for Disciplinary Space

Foucault argues the operationalisation of the techniques of discipline requires an organisational space. To this end, Foucault draws on Bentham's ideal panoptic prison as a metaphor for illustrating this principle of 'space'. Bentham designed his 'ideal' panoptic prison to maximise surveillance of prison inmates. The prison cells were to surround a central tower and be placed in such a way to ensure prisoners could not see other inmates or the overseer. Foucault (1977) calls the possibility of surveillance the 'panoptic gaze' (p. 245). In the panoptic space, power is held through a particular distribution of relationships, space, and time (Foucault, 1977, Fox, 1989). Disciplinary power works through those who are subjected to the possibility of surveillance as they begin to control their own behaviour because of the possibility of surveillance. While the panoptic prison was never built to Bentham's exact design, Foucault argues the design provides a useful metaphor for extending the techniques of discipline from specific institutions and situations, for example prisons, hospitals, schools, barracks, to become a generalisable principle that might infiltrate the very fabric of society. Foucault argues such an extension of disciplinary techniques signified a shift to the disciplinary society. In the disciplinary society, information is accumulated and centralised. By providing information, statistics, measurements and so forth, the 'centre' controllers have access to a 'view' of individuals and groups without those individuals or groups knowing who or how this information may be used. Through the application of disciplinary techniques individuality may be fabricated to fit into the wider systems of society.

For Foucault (1977), the primary function of disciplinary power is to train. Through training, individuals are at once objects and instruments of disciplinary power. Training renders the individual useful to the trainer, the organisation, or the economy. The trained individual becomes an instrument for achieving the goals of the institution by acting in desirable ways. Foucault argues the techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, and examination form the basis of disciplinary power. The combination of these techniques makes the individual visible, comparable, changeable, and docile.

Hierarchical observation makes the activities of workers, inmates, children, or the sick visible to managers, wardens, parents, teachers, or doctors. Disciplinary writing techniques such as record keeping, report writing, collating and disseminating information, can be used to translate observations into a property that can be coded, calculated, and compared, thus deeming the individual knowable within hierarchical relationships (Foucault, 1977). These writing techniques can be used to transform the information gathered during surveillance into produced norms. Foucault argued norms might be produced about individual behaviour, aptitudes, ability and nature, measures that he termed 'value-giving'.

Norms created through hierarchical observation provide the basis for normalising judgements. Created norms can be mapped on a (fabricated) continuum. Individual behaviour, aptitudes, ability and nature can be measured and quantified, and then compared to this continuum. Measures and comparisons 'differentiate' individuals in relation to the norm, and from other individuals in relation to the 'distance' from each other on the continuum. Foucault (1977) argues that the 'value-giving' measures establish 'constraints of conformity' and define abnormality. Thus, Foucault argues individuals constrain their own behaviour in a desire to be (or appear to be) normal and to achieve the rewards associated with normality. Conversely, individuals might conform or constrain their own behaviour to avoid being classified abnormal and to avoid the sanctions associated with abnormality.

The examination combines the techniques of hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. As noted above, Foucault (1977) argues the purpose of disciplinary power is to train and to make useful the bodies within institutions and society. Training transfers knowledge from the trainer to the trainee. Examination assesses the usefulness of trainees and the level of knowledge they have retained. The examination is a form of surveillance and an instrument making normalising judgements possible. Foucault argues that the object of the examination becomes the 'score', and that the outcome of exams are normalising judgements. It is the 'score' that is mapped, compared, and judged. The examination individualises behaviour as distinct to an individual and homogenises behaviour through the creation of norms. Thus, through measuring individuals, groups come to be described and characterised.

The examination links power and knowledge together in a particular way and in a particular space. The power/knowledge base of the observers is strengthened with each new phase of surveillance, judgement, and examination. New knowledge can be used to create new measures and meanings of normality and in turn may be used as the basis for future normalising judgements and examination. Foucault (1977) argues that through the documentary techniques associated with examination, the individual becomes a case to be "described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded etc" (p. 191). The hierarchical nature of the relationship between the observers and the observed empowers the observer to prescribe certain courses of action to create the prescribed normality – to train, to reward, to dismiss. With each new round of surveillance the observers become 'more knowledgeable', further legitimising their claim to intervene and prescribe appropriate forms of action.

According to Foucault (1977), through the application of observing, describing in detail, and record keeping the "disciplinary methods ... lowered the threshold of describable individuality and made of this description the means of control and a method of domination" (p. 191). He goes on to argue the procedures of writing

"functions as a procedure of objectification and subjection" (1977, p. 192). For him, the examination represented a new form of power, whereby the individual provides information, and in turn, receives a statement or picture of his or her own individuality. Thus, Foucault (1977) suggests that:

> the examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge. It is the examination which, by combining hierarchical surveillance and normalising judgement, assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, continuous genetic accumulation, optimum combination of aptitudes and, thereby, the fabrication of cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory individuality. With it are ritualised those disciplines that may be characterized in a word by saying that they are a modality of power for which individual difference is relevant (p. 192).

However, Foucault (1977) argues that as the observer's power and knowledge is strengthened with each new disciplinary round, the political autonomy of the observed weakens. He suggests this occurs because the examination links a certain type of knowledge formation with a particular exercise of power. Disciplinary power is exercised by the invisibility of the controller; at the same time the object of disciplinary power becomes completely visible. The examination at once objectifies the individual through gazing at them as an object; while at the same time subjects the individual to the power of the gaze of the examination. Disciplinary power is achieved through the visibility of the examination as opposed to the visibility of the power-holder. The docile subjects respond to disciplinary power by doing things to themselves to improve future examination scores. Thus disciplinary power is manifest in the actions of the docile individuals rather than from a visible sign from above. Individual autonomy is weakened with each new disciplinary round as docile individuals learn more fully what it means to present themselves as normal, and unquestionably change their behaviour to meet this prescribed normality. Foucault argues that failure to learn compliance with normality is deemed disobedience and punishable, according to the rules of the institution.

For Foucault (1977), disciplinary techniques represent a general formula for domination that might be applied in organisations as diverse as hospitals, armies,

factories, and schools. Through learning the lessons of the institution as efficiently and quickly as possible, a community of individuals becomes docile. He suggests a compliant, docile citizenship can lead to community improvement in terms of improved health or education outcomes, yet this can be at the expense of individual autonomy. As individuals learn how to stay healthy, be productive, and become educated, their ability to determine what these things mean for themselves is increasingly removed and placed in the heads of the examiner and returned as further prescriptions of behaviour to be learned.

While Foucault's analysis provides useful insight into how power might be operationalised within an organisational context, concern has been raised over the relevancy of the Foucauldian notion of discipline in the current social, economic, and organisational context. For example, Savage (1998) points to Foucault's later work, where he places less emphasis on direct observation and greater attention on identity creation through self-disclosure in confessional situations.

Regardless of the discussions about Foucault's later theoretical development, his analysis of Bentham's ideal prison provides a useful analytical framework for describing the operation of power in contemporary society. To this end, I draw on the work of Rose and Miller (1988) and Rose (1990; 1989) will be drawn on to extend what some suggest Foucault only began to touch on in his later work. Rose builds on Foucault's work to analyse the discipline in the contemporary context. Rose extends the analysis of individuals being disciplined through their very subjectivity as they internalise produced norms as a basis for creating their own identity. Rose's analysis of 'managing the contemporary self' through 'technologies of the self' and 'techniques of the self' is discussed in the following section.

4.3 Governing the Soul

Rose (1990, 1988) and Miller and Rose (1988) argue that there has been a shift from controlling individuals, citizens, and workers through their behaviour and psychological adjustment to focusing on managing their very 'soul'. Rose (1990)

argues while our "intimate lives, our feelings, desires and aspirations, seem quintessentially personal" (p.1) they are the objects of power. Thus our:

> personalities, subjectivities, and 'relationships' are not private matters, if this implies that they are not the objects of power. On the contrary, they are intensively governed. Perhaps they always have been. Social conventions, community scrutiny, legal norms, familial obligations and religious injunctions have exercised an intense power over human soul in past times and other cultures. Conduct, speech and emotion have been examined and evaluated in terms of the inner states that they manifest, and attempts have been made to alter the visible person by acting upon this inner world. Thoughts, feelings and actions may appear as the very fabric and constitution of the intimate self, but they are socially organized and managed in minute particulars (Rose, 1990, p. 1).

Rose (1989, see also Miller & Rose, 1988) contends that attempts to exert power over how we manage our 'selves' to act in certain ways is not new in Western societies. However, these authors argue there are three distinct differences in the management of the contemporary self. First, governments of diverse political affiliations have concerned themselves with managing the subjectivity of citizens. Second, the management of subjectivity has become a central task within contemporary organisations. Third, the management of subjectivity has become a key task of experts in subjectivity. Rose (1990) terms the accumulation of these processes as 'technologies of the self'. However, he argues 'technologies of the self' operate in conjunction with 'techniques of the self'. Techniques of the self are evident when individuals adopt and internalise norms that have been prescribed for them by experts. Rose's argument of the role of government, organisations, and experts in managing the contemporary self and what he terms 'techniques of the self' are discussed in the next section.

4.3.1 Technologies of the Self: Governments, Organisations and Experts

Rose (1990, 1989) builds on the work of Foucault to analyse the processes involved in managing the contemporary self. Rose maintains modern governments have attempted to control populations not by force, but through managing the subjective capacities of citizens. He contends that contemporary governments control citizens 'at a distance' by charging organisations to change citizen behaviour through gaining compliance and consent. Rose places particular importance on the role of 'experts' in

subjectivity, to manage the process of gaining compliance and consent of populations through working on individuals' 'inner selves'. Rose terms the combination of the role of government, organisations, and experts as technologies of the self. The role that government, organisations, and experts have in the management of the contemporary self are discussed in the following sections.

4.3.1.1 The Role of Governments in Managing the Contemporary Self

Rose (1990) argues the "personal and subjective capacities of citizens have been incorporated into the scope and aspirations of public powers" (p.1). He maintains governments and parties, irrespective of political affiliation, have "formulated policies, set up machinery, established bureaucracies and promoted initiatives to regulate the conduct of citizens by acting upon their mental capacities and propensities" (p. 2). Rose points out public powers have concerned themselves with issues as diverse as military efficiency, raising and educating children, public health, divorce rates, industrial productivity, fitting people to jobs, and motivating workers. He suggests the process of managing the subjective capacities of citizens begins by making abstract speculations about issues of concern and then by devising political strategies and creating institutions with the aim of regulating the behaviours of citizens through managing their subjectivity. Thus, for Rose (1990), subjectivity enters into the "calculations of political forces about the state of the nation, problems facing the country, and priorities and policies" (p. 2).

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, governments around the world have been active in creating a global economy based on neo-liberal principles, and have implemented economic, social, political and legislative frameworks to this end. Central to neo-liberalism are notions of individualism and the taking care of and responsibility for the self. Governments have been concerned with fabricating citizens to view themselves as atomised individuals responsible for caring for themselves within the newly-created framework of employment and social security arrangements. Governments are central in the design of the social, political and economic environment within which careers are played out. I have argued in the preceding chapters that the implementation of globalisation strategies have led to

differentiated employment outcomes, government withdrawal from welfare provision, and differentiated life chances for many citizens; and that these have impacted upon the type of employment and career options available. Of concern in this thesis is how governments have applied contemporary career discourse to create policies, institutions, and institutional webs to help re-fabricate citizens around the changing notion of career within the global economy.

Watts (2000, 1997) notes governments around the world have established polices and institutions to facilitate career guidance and planning for 'work ready' students and displaced workers from organisational restructuring. Governments working through various departments have established processes and programmes to facilitate the movement of students and beneficiaries to employment. In 2000, the 'OECD Career Guidance Policy Review' was established. The purpose of this review is to develop the profile of the provision of career services within OECD member nations. The OECD (2002) review team maintain that career service provision can facilitate the movement of students and welfare recipients to work, however they note:

> If the OECD review of career guidance is to act as a change agent and to raise the policy profile of the issues which it is addressing, it is important to develop a clear rationale for the relationship of career information and guidance to lifelong learning, and to active labour-market strategies and welfare-to-work strategies supported by policy tools which will attract sustained attention (p. 3)

Watts (2000) suggests several reasons for increased government involvement in the career development of citizens. First, like Greenhaus et al. (2000), he believes effective individual career development has economic benefits because individuals are matched to suitable training and education that will lead them into the labour market. Such an approach is assumed to reduce the cost of education and training as fewer people drop out of courses. Second, career development can facilitate the achievement of social equity by helping traditionally disadvantaged groups based on gender, ethnicity, social class background, or disability, gain access to education and training from which they were excluded from previously. Watts suggests that the particular focus of career planning differs between political parties with right-winged

political parties placing more importance on economic efficiency and left-wing parties placing more weight on social equity issues.

Western societies as diverse as the United States, Britain and New Zealand have placed particular attention on the 'career development' of beneficiaries and students as a method of reducing welfare spending through welfare payment reduction (McClure, 1998). At a time when the need for welfare support has risen as a result of increased job loss and insecurity of income for increased numbers of part-time and casualised workers, governments have introduced a combination of policies to reduce the cost of welfare provision and to stimulate notions of individual responsibility for one's own welfare. Reduced welfare payments and entitlements, restricted time frames for welfare eligibility, and welfare-to-work schemes have been designed to stimulate individual responsibility for welfare provision (McClure, 1998; Kelsey, 1995). Single parents, of who are predominately women, have attracted attention from governments (McClure, 1998). Consistent with Rose's argument, at the same time that governments have created policies to re-fabricate individuals to take responsibility for themselves they have also created organisations and institutional webs to facilitate this re-fabrication consistent with their political understandings and aspirations. The next section discusses the role of organisations in the management of the contemporary self.

4.3.1.2 The Role of Organisations in Managing the Contemporary Self

Rose (1990) suggests that managing "subjectivity has become a central task for the modern organization. Organizations have come to fill the space between the 'private' lives of citizens and the 'public' concerns of rulers" (p. 2). With respect to re-fabricating individuals to accept workplace change and their place within it, governments have set up institutional apparatus and organisations that discipline and punish, and also train individuals to accept greater responsibility for gaining work and financial support of themselves and their families. For example, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand have created government-funded career guidance agencies to help in the career management and development of citizens and school children (Boyd, Hemmingings & Braggett, 2001; Watts, 1997). Welfare agencies have moved from

providing welfare support to supporting the movement of beneficiaries back into the workplace (McClure, 1998). Thus, institutional webs have been designed that employ a combination of disciplinary techniques, punishment and training in order to secure attitudinal and behavioural changes in citizens. The aim is to encourage citizens to review themselves from welfare recipients to potential workers responsible for supporting themselves and their families. However, Rose suggests that governments and organisations achieve the goal of managing citizens indirectly through the intervention of experts in subjectivity. Rose places great importance on the role of experts in the process of managing the contemporary self. The next section discusses the role of experts in full.

4.3.1.3 The Role of Experts in Managing the Contemporary Self

Rose (1990) argues that governments manage subjectivity at a distance through what he terms the new "experts in subjectivity" (p. 2). Rose suggests that there has been a growth in professional groups, for example psychologists, social workers, personnel managers, probation officers, and occupational psychologists. Rose (1990) argues that these professional groups, or experts in subjectivity, assert their "virtuosity in respect of the self, in classifying and measuring the psyche, in predicting its vicissitudes, in diagnosing the causes of its troubles and prescribing remedies" (pp. 2,3). These experts in subjectivity base "their claim to social authority upon their capacity to understand the psychological aspects of the person and to act upon them, or to advise others what to do" (p. 3).

Rose (1990) draws on the work of Foucault to demonstrate the link between political powers and the role of the expert in governing citizens. He suggests experts have created new disciplinary writing techniques and languages that provide information and ways of talking about populations to political powers that enable populations to become 'known' in terms of sectors, characteristics, divergences from norms, and processes associated with the functioning of the population. Experts thus produce governable knowledge that enables populations to be understood in certain ways, managed, acted upon, and amended. However, he suggests creating governable knowledge requires certain features of a population to be highlighted and particular

information sought, but that this obscures other features and excludes certain information. It is the highlighted features and gathered information that is used as the basis of political decision-making.

Rose (1988) contends that experts in subjectivity have created governable knowledge by developing new conceptual systems of relationships and vocabularies that enable human behaviour to be thought of and spoken about, in terms of calculable knowledge that is "amenable to management" (p. 184). Furthermore, he asserts that by conceptualising processes and relationships that make up the domain of interest and then translating these conceptual frameworks into new vocabularies, the human sciences "have provided the means whereby subjectivity and intersubjectivity could enter the calculations of authorities" (p. 7). These new vocabularies that enable the complexities of human life to be broken down to become manageable elements of a particular domain of interest, and have made it possible for the human psyche to become a "domain for systematic government in the pursuit of socio-political ends" (Rose, 1990, p. 7). Thus, he contends, "the new vocabularies provided by the sciences of the psyche enable the aspirations of government to be articulated in terms of the knowledgeable management of the depths of the human soul" (1990, p. 7). These new languages both legitimate power and mystify domination; they also "constitute new sectors of reality and make new aspects of existence possible" (Rose, 1988, p. 184).

Rose holds that experts use panoptic techniques of examination, surveillance, and normalising judgement to inscribe, measure, compare, analyse, and judge individuality. Experts can solicit information from individuals through what Foucault (1976) termed the ritual of confession where the "the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement" (p. 61). Foucault goes on to say the ritual of confession is a power relationship where the "authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile" (pp. 61,62). After confession or observation individuality can be reduced to measurable and hence calculable elements; human individuality thus becomes visible and locatable within frameworks of normal behaviour. These processes render

subjectivity as a governable phenomenon, thus people can have things done to them, as well as doing things to themselves "in the name of their subjective capacities" (Rose, 1990, p. 8).

According to Rose (1990), human technologies "involve the calculated organization of human forces and capacities...into functioning networks of power" (p. 8). Theoretical knowledge can bring together apparently unrelated phenomena, enabling the soul to be "thinkable in terms of a psychology, an intelligence, a personality, and hence enables certain types of action to be linked to different types of effects" (Rose, 1990, p. 8). Techniques such as hierarchical placement, reward and punishment systems, and regulatory mechanisms provide the means for reformation and therapy. Such intervention can be used to reshape human capacities according to psychological theory transforming the very subjectivity of an individual by governing their soul. Thus, Rose (1990) argues, as "networks form, as relays, translations and connections couple political aspirations with modes of action upon persons, technologies of subjectivity are established that enable strategies of power to infiltrate the intercedes of the human soul" (p. 8). He suggests that by constructing normalities or truths about individuality, the psychological sciences can regulate subjectivity based on the 'legitimate authority of science'. Thus, subjectivity can be governed by applying norms that are created by the psychological sciences using panoptic techniques. Thus, for Rose (1988) the 'panoptic gaze' of the manager, warden, teacher, or doctor shifts to become the "psychological gaze" (p. 193) of the expert.

Through these complex processes governments can manage the intimate lives of citizens at a distance, as experts intervene and act upon the "choices, wishes, values, and conduct of the individual in an indirect manner" (Rose, 1990, p. 10). Compliance is sought by offering an image of a desired self, by way of norms and pictures of how life could be by complying to such norms. Rose (1990) maintains that:

> Such a citizen subject is not to be dominated in the interests of power, but to be educated and solicited into a kind of alliance between personal objectives and ambitions and institutionally or socially prized goals or activities. Citizens shape their lives about the choices they make about family life, work, leisure, lifestyle, and personality and its expression. Government

> works by 'acting at a distance' upon these choices, forging a symmetry between the attempts of individuals to make life worthwhile for themselves, and the political values of consumption, profitability, efficiency, and social order. Contemporary government, that is to say, operates through the delicate and minute infiltration of the ambitions of regulation into the very interior of our existence and experience as subjects (p. 8).

Rose argues that these 'technologies of the self' work in conjunction with 'techniques of the self'. He argues, it is insufficient for individuals to seek the advice of experts - they must also be 'willing' do things to themselves to appear normal. Rose's concept of the 'techniques of the self' is briefly discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 'Techniques of the Self'

'Techniques of the self' become evident when people engage in doing things to themselves to match the criteria offered to them by experts to become normal, acceptable or desirable. Rose (1990) suggests that:

> The government of the soul depends upon our recognition of ourselves as ideally and potentially certain sorts of person, the unease generated by a normative judgement of what we are and could become, and the incitement offered to overcome this discrepancy by following advice by experts in the management of the self (p. 9).

Thus, Rose (1988) contends the management of subjectivity can be better thought of in terms of disciplining difference. Through techniques of examination, normalising judgement and surveillance, psychological scientists have produced a knowledge of individuality. The expert makes visible desirable norms, values, habits, or capacities, and matches those to people who meet the requirements of the institution, and those who do not or will not match these expectations (Rose, 1988). Individual behaviour can be compared with these norms and values and the variance from these norms may become the target of discipline. Rewards and sanctions help align individual behaviour with norms and values of the institution, but individuals must be willing to act upon the self to follow the advice of experts and internalise prescribed norms and values. According to Lynch (1985), such a person becomes a "docile object" who behaves:

> in accordance with a programme of normalization ... when an object becomes observable, measurable and quantifiable, it has already become *civilized*: the disciplinary organization of civilization extends its subjection

> to the object in the very way it makes it knowable. The docile object provides the material template that variously supports or frustrates the operations performed upon it (as cited in Rose, 1988, p. 188, emphasis in original).

The process of normalisation is not unique to Western culture or to this era. What is different is that there appears to be an attempt to globalise an identifiable 'culture' where atomised individuals are 'liberated' to pursue their career goals and aspirations. Deetz (1992) argues that in contemporary society individuals are learning aspects of this new (mono)culture within the corporate context. He argues that experts within the corporate context, have a particular role in creating norms and fabricating identity in contemporary society. Moreover, this identity is produced to support the needs of corporations and, in particular, multinational corporations. As such, corporate life extends into the very heart of how individuals come to structure their identity. Deetz argues two inter-related processes of colonisation and deinstitutionalisation facilitate the increasing influence of corporations over the intimate day-to-day lives of individuals. Deetz's contribution to this discussion on contemporary fabrication of individuality is presented in the following section.

4.4 Colonisation and Deinstitutionalisation

Like Rose, Deetz (1992) argues that experts play an important role in normalisation of human beings. Deetz extends this general observation with the argument that the norms and values experts draw upon are increasingly created within the context of modern corporations. Meaning is frequently created within the employment environment and individuals create meaning and identity for themselves around the needs of modern organisations. Deetz (1992) argues that in many respects

> the corporate sector has become the primary institution in modern society, overshadowing the state in controlling and directing individual lives and influencing collective social development. Workplace values and practices extend into nonwork life through time structuring, educational content, economic distributions, product development, and creation of needs. Modern corporations affect society by both their products and their income distribution but also by the practices internal to them. This is to suggest not a simple or unidirectional effect, but a critical way of pulling together social forces and providing a particular 'circuit' of power (Deetz, 1992, p. 17).

Deetz (1992) builds on the work of Habermas (1984, 1987) and terms this extension of corporate life into non-work life as 'colonising activity'. According to Deetz, the process of colonising activity occurs as corporate life extends into non-corporate life to the extent that activities carried out in other institutions support the activities of the corporate world. Deetz (1992) argues that rather than "each sector having competing demands worked out in floating day-to-day decision making, corporate ideology and practices form a relatively harmonious hierarchical integration largely through distorting the expression of competing needs located in other institutions and suppressing the potential conflicts" (p. 17). To this end, Deetz argues that activities carried out within the state, educational institutions, family, community groups, and the media begin to support corporate needs, and by doing so, reduce their own particular institutional role in meaning and identity creation.

Deetz (1992) argues the power of large corporations over many nation states has grown in contemporary time because of their relative economic power. Thus, Deetz argues, nation states subsidise the activities of the corporate sector through pro-corporate minimalist legislation, providing welfare for those whom the corporate sector no longer needs, and supplying an educated workforce through skill-based and work-ready education. Deetz suggests the state interprets public good as the development of economic stability, as opposed to the well-being of all citizens. Thus, Deetz maintains, there has been a power shift from elected governments to non-elected managers within the corporate sector. It is within the corporate sector that many decisions about resource allocation, technology development and utilisation, and labour and salary policies are made. Within the organisational context of the corporate sector control and influence over individuals can be achieved by translating pro-corporate behaviour, attitudes and values into norms, practices, and codes of behaviour. With Foucault and Rose, Deetz (1992) suggests that under such a system "power is thus not dispersed in modern society to citizens who argue and vote and determine the politics of central government, but is spread out through lines of conformity, common sense observations, and determination of propriety" (p. 22). Deetz argues that within this system of disciplinary power our day-to-day experiences

are normalised. The application of disciplinary power diminishes our ability to conceptualise other ways of being outside of what we currently observe as 'natural', thus restricting our ability to perceive other ways of being. Thus, any action taken is likely to uphold the current system rather than challenge it.

Many authors have noted that governments have been instrumental in creating and designing an educational system aimed at producing a compliant workforce equipped with the right skills, attitudes and behaviours for the work environment (Braverman, 1974; Brown, 1997; Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980; Deetz, 1992; Watts, 2000). Education programmes that governments have changed over time reflect the changing needs of capitalism. For example, Braverman (1974) argues during monopoly capitalism schools taught children and adolescents to conform to routines; skills he suggested they would need in their adult life. He also holds that the launch of the USSR Sputnik I inspired the American Government's desire to emphasise science and technology. Brown (1997) notes that during the 1980s, organisations pressured governments to implement education that provided a 'work ethic' relevant to 'the real world' of business and industry. Watts (2000, 1997) notes by the late 1990s, commentators have encouraged governments to become involved in life-long learning programmes that better enable displaced workers to upskill to meet the needs of an ever-changing work environment and thus be internationally competitive. Brown (1997) suggests that while "most individual employers and managers may have no active part in creating or maintaining such an educational system, organised industry and business, at local and national levels, can be and have been, very influential" (p. 209). While business leaders have encouraged governments to promote particular skills, attitudes, and behaviours over time, many commentators maintain educational institutions also teach, socialise, and train students into accepting, and hence legitimising, particular norms and values. In this case, educational institutions have been found to support, or at least to not challenge, the efficacy of Western capitalism and its concomitant ideas of social justice.

In their early work Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) argue that universities (and business schools in particular) play a key role in transferring dominant ideology and therefore have a significant role in creating and developing hegemonic control. For them, hegemonic control is achieved by creating normative social rules. Brown (1997) suggests hegemonic control may be used when employees need to be persuaded to cooperate with managerial objectives. He argues when governments intervene in the labour process by supporting unions, creating protective employment legislation, or by providing subsistence welfare payments, workers are granted limited forms of power. In this situation Brown suggests that owners and managers may need to persuade workers to accept conditions of employment, as opposed to using coercive means of control.

Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) suggest that such hegemonic control is mostly associated with the management of core workers and members who make decisions on behalf of owners. Dominant ideologies embedded in the social regulative norms provide the parameters for their decisions, thus increasing the likelihood that their 'decisions' will uphold the values of capitalism. Clegg and Dunkerley maintain that contemporary managers are introduced to the dominant ruling ideology of modern capitalism within universities and, in particular, business management schools. These schools teach rational methods of marketing, finance, strategic planning, and organisation design, and form the basis for management recruitment. They argue the growth in business management schools in the post-war period is related to the separation of ownership and control, increased foreign competition, the collapse of empires, and ensuing loss of supplies of cheap raw materials, increased foreign investment in industry and commerce, and increased concentration of capital and technology. Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) argued that:

> the most important feature of the business schools, and of management education generally, is not so much their relative success as channels of elite reproduction ... but their role in reproducing ideology as well as middle-class careers. This ideology is what people do at these institutions, which is to learn the rational science and techniques of modern management.... By providing concepts of 'the organisation', for instance, which are absolutely independent of any political economy, but related to presumed universal systems of structures of organisations, and by stressing the universal applicability of these 'rational precepts' ... these schools produce, on the

> whole, sound and reliable ruling-class functionaries who have complex rules built into them (p. 538).

They argue the ideological work in organisation theory makes available packages of individuals ready to take up uncritically the hegemonic perspective that reproduces capitalism, that of the rational orientation of business run by non owners. However, they suggest that management schools equip potential managers with an introduction to rational thought, managerial techniques, and attitudes for managing uncritically on behalf of owners. Like Deetz, they argue that the dominant ideology is reinforced within organisations through the application of internal practices, designed to reinforce alignment between the behaviour of individual members with the needs of capital. Thus, Clegg and Dunkerley suggest, managers learn to manage workers and themselves in ways consistent with the needs of capital.

Deetz (1992) states that educational institutions subsidise the corporate world by training students for occupational roles and success, instead of educating students in critical reflection, autonomy and preparation for their life role as citizens. Deetz notes where corporations provide funding or sponsorship to schools and educational institutions, such funding often requires some form of return to the corporation. Deetz suggests this shift in the function of education represents a shift in the values and legitimacy granted to the corporation. Curriculum becomes aligned with corporate needs, grades translate to mastery of material required to be learned, research becomes aligned with corporate problem solving as opposed to developing new theory, practices internal to educational institutions come to mirror corporate values. As such, students not only learn material that supports corporate needs, but also learn practices and ways of being that will be useful in the corporate world. Their attention is distracted from a potential education that might inform a more critical (global) citizenship.

Deetz (1992) suggests families and community groups have also come to subsidise the corporate world in a number of ways. The shape and structure of family have changed to fit around emergent employment structures. It is being found that the choice about

when or whether to have children has become as much a career issue for some couples as a personal family decision (Deetz, 1992; Moss Kanter, 1989). Community participation has been reshaped around working time. The extension of the workday for some reduces available time to participate in volunteer community activities (Deetz, 1992). In contrast, underemployment and unemployment has also been associated with community withdrawal and reduced volunteer activity (Ehrensal, 1995; Uchitelle, & Kleinfeld, 1996; McBride, 1999).

Finally, Deetz maintains that the media have an increased role in affecting the relationship between the public and corporations. Herman and Chomsky's (1994) work shows how the mass media support the ideological needs of government and corporations. They suggest:

> The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda (p. 1)

Corporate ownership of the media has had an impact on advertising, programming and news presentation. Herman and Chomsky (1994) argue the dominant ideology presented within the media supports the needs of a dominant elite, corporates, and governments. They suggest the modern form of the media filters the news, marginalises dissent, and presents the views of governments and dominant interest groups to the public. Deetz (1992) believes this is achieved because media "messages elaborate ideology into common sense and everyday practices by reproducing social conflict in terms derived from the dominant ideology" (p. 33). He goes on to say images of products and life styles are presented as "*the* social good" (p. 34, emphasis in original) to this end consumption that favours corporations is seen as good. Thus our identity can be shaped by the messages we see and hear. Our lifestyle choices and the products we buy can be influenced by what we come to believe will satisfy needs that have been produced for us by experts. Identity creation supports corporate needs as we buy the right products, are seen in the right car, wear the right clothes.

Deetz (1992) notes that the combination of these activities constitutes corporate colonisation of the life world. He also notes that Habermas argued the process of deinstitutionalisation supports the process of colonisation. Deinstitutionalisation, according to Deetz, occurs as primary institutions, such as family, religion, and culture no longer represent the source of meaning, values, identity, and knowledge. With deinstitutionalisation, the individual becomes the site of meaning creation. As such, individuals make sense of the world and create meaning for themselves within that world. As primary-meaning institutions weaken as sites of identity development, the importance of secondary-meaning institutions develop and strengthen. Secondary-meaning institutions can include therapists, human resource managers, counsellors, or those Rose (1990) terms the new 'experts in subjectivity'. Deetz argues that it is these secondary-meaning institutions contemporary individuals must turn to for guidance on how to create meaning for themselves. Along with Rose, Deetz maintains the expert, the counsellor, and the trainer play particular roles in the fabrication of identity, but the identity offered is a produced identity. Deinstitutionalisation supports colonisation when individuals seek expert advice on how to create meaning and identity. As primary institutions weaken as a site for providing identity and meaning for individuals, individuals might seek advice from experts, who in turn provide information fabricating an identity that support corporate needs (Deetz, 1992). Thus through the advice of experts, corporate life extends into the heart of how individuals structure their identity. Such control and influence over the individual is achieved through establishing norms and standard practices that are the product of various experts, in accordance with Foucault's notion of the panoptic gaze and Rose's notion of disciplining difference.

The combination of the work of Foucault, Rose, and Deetz offers a useful framework within which to critically analyse contemporary career management and development discourse in light of the contemporary context of employment and work. Foucault, for example, offers a conceptual 'space' in which the processes of discipline might be analysed. Extending this, Rose highlights the inter-relationship of governments, organisations and experts in managing the contemporary self through solicitation and

assimilation, and by building compliance and consent into a package of set norms. Deetz's analysis suggests that these norms are increasingly fabricated within the corporate sector, based on narrowly-defined corporate needs. Thus, contemporary career management and development discourse might be viewed as part of a complex apparatus that increasingly is facilitating a global cultural shift to accept wider political and economic change. In the following section I will draw on the analyses of Foucault, Rose, and Deetz to critically discuss the role of the 'career expert' in facilitating the dissemination of this discourse throughout society. I will also draw on the analyses and the organisational studies of Grey (1994) and Fournier (1996) to critically review career management and development techniques and practices, within an organisational setting.

4.5 Normalising Experience through Career Discourse

Consistent with the career theories emerging from the late 1970s, advocates of contemporary career discourse argue that individuals can and ought to manage their own careers. The external environment in which individuals are required to manage their own careers has been discussed in detail in chapters two and three. This environment was characterised as including increased job insecurity, downward pressure on working conditions and income for many; and, the creation of new working 'classes' of over-employed, under-employed, and unemployed. In Chapters Two and Three I argued that the parameters for this environment has been set up through macro-policies emanating from multinational institutions (such as the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank), governments, and multinational corporations in their pursuit of global free-trade. As part of their commitment to global free-trade many Western and increasingly Third World governments have reduced government spending on public services and welfare provision, and reduced their ownership of and responsibility for communal assets. In pursuit of narrowly-defined efficiency goals multinational corporations have introduced various flexibility strategies, downsized and restructured, and taken advantage of global financial, consumer and labour markets. For many nationally-based organisations the ensuing competition has resulted in their adoption of similar flexibility strategies, downsizing and

restructuring, and for some, plant closures. Yet, these external constraints on individual opportunity and real choice do not feature significantly in the career theory, and certainly not in the programmes of assimilation which forms the practice of career 'experts'. This omission to draw attention to these aspects of the external environment may be viewed as part of the process of normalisation. I argue that in the face of this environment there seems to be little opportunity for most individuals to manage their own careers. Employment opportunity is frequently structured through the decisions of international companies and governments facilitating freer global trade and cost efficiencies. Yet within this environment individuals are expected to take responsibility for their own well-being and employment opportunities.

Of interest is the increasing exhortation to view one's life as a 'business'. People are encouraged to shape their 'vision', produce a strategy and set in place goals, plans, and evaluation processes. Contemporary career management and development theory, and models are promoted as tools for guiding individuals to manage themselves to fit the current employment environment; to create themselves to be flexible by becoming as it were an 'entrepreneur of the self' (Fournier, 1996; Rose, 1990). Wilson (1992) summarises the key economic and socio-cultural characteristics of what has been termed the 'enterprise culture'. These characteristics include:

Economic Characteristics

1. Continual process of privatisation.
2. The deregulation of industry (especially financial services).
3. The structural reorganisation of publicly funded bodies.
4. A reduction in reliance upon the culture of dependence throughout all organizations and business sectors. This includes reliance on each other as well as government agencies for support.

Socio-cultural Characteristics

1. The view of competitive market organisation becomes the dominant role for all others (including public statutory agencies and the voluntary sector).
2. The vocabulary of management theory becomes predominantly that of commercial practice (e.g. 'market niche', 'product differentiation', 'sustainable competitive advantage').
3. A noticeable trend towards the homogenization of organization models. All organisations are normatively encouraged to adopt commercial modes of operation, especially where they are expected to lead to increased organizational performance and success.

> 4. *The idea of running even one's own personal life as if it were a business becomes highlighted. Individuals should organise their lives around economic concepts of opportunity cost and operate under norms of overt market competition.* (p. 39, emphasis added).

In a turbulent employment environment contemporary career theorists offer prescriptive models to guide individuals through the process of 'organising their lives' in such a manner to maintain employability. For example, Hall's (1996, 1976) invitation to become 'protean careerists' who are able to change to 'fit' the realities of this new world of work. Yet, in the current environment 'career' can be reconceptualised as a normative framework to fabricate individuals to accept changes in employment as 'quasi-natural', and to take responsibility for their own employment and welfare needs. Drawing on the contribution of Foucault, Rose and Deetz, contemporary career discourse may be viewed as an extension of the panoptic metaphor, a technology and a technique of the self, and as a mechanism of colonisation. Grey (1994) draws attention to the connection between discipline, self-management, and colonising of the self to meet the needs of work with the construct of career. Grey suggests that:

> workplace surveillance and the production of self-managing subjects may both be seen as variants of the Foucauldian theme of self-discipline. Since surveillance has as its aim the production of self-discipline, the project of self-management is not a contradictory phenomenon. However, it does imply a distinctive modality of self-discipline, which is suggested by the term 'project'. The importance of the notion of a project of self-management, and the importance of careers within that project, is the ascription of unity to various processes of self-discipline. The project of self-management links home and work, leisure, dreams and day-dreams. Perhaps most significantly, it links past, present and future through the vector of the self.... through a unified project of self-management, the self comes to bear upon itself in all settings and on all occasions. The project of self-management might be said to consist of the construction of our lives as total institutions (p. 481).

In the context of greater individualisation and atomisation of humanity, together with the loosening of bonds to other institutions, 'the career' can be viewed as an organising principle. Individuals can use this career-principle to guide and manage themselves and all aspects of their lives to better fit into the context of global neo-liberalism. In this context the 'career consultant' can be viewed as a new addition to

the family of experts in subjectivity. Such experts have a particular role in fabricating citizens to accept personal responsibility for employment, and to normalise the new employment experiences as natural and inevitable, and indeed self-manageable. Thus, one would expect the self-disciplined 'careerist' to subject all aspects of their lives, family, friends, leisure and so on, around developing an ideal career. In the next section I will discuss the role of the developing careers industry as a normalising agent. In Section 4.5.2 I draw upon the work of Fournier and Grey to help illustrate the disciplinary, self-managing, and colonising properties of contemporary career management and development theories, concepts, and practices.

4.5.1 Career Guidance and Self-help Books: Experts in Subjectivity

Watts (1997) notes that career guidance is a growing profession with career counsellors and consultants working in private practice and publicly government-funded organisations. Private and publicly-funded career counsellors offer services to fee-paying individuals, as well as servicing clients directed from public institutions such as schools, universities and welfare agencies who pay for these services.

Hall and Associates (1996) note typical career guidance sessions can involve interviews, psychological testing, and aptitude and ability tests. Such techniques at once place clients under surveillance and examination. Once assessed, counsellors make normalising judgements about the individual in terms of their personality, abilities, attitudes, behaviours, values, and characteristics; and based on these assessments match individuals to 'suitable' careers options. Career counsellors might then help create a career management plan and offer advice on how to achieve the goals within it. Advice might cover such issues as building a curriculum vitae, training, writing job-application letters, conduct in interviews, appropriate dress, changing personal attitudes, behaviours, and values, and how to take responsibility for managing one's own career. Thus the 'career expert' normalises individuality through the process of soliciting information from them, repackaging this information as a supposed picture of the 'self', and presenting this 'self' back to the individual. This 'self' may then be manipulated and changed by acting upon the advice of the expert

and doing things to the 'self' to match the ideal as closely as possible. Clients who uncritically accept the advice of career counsellors, or who feel pressured to do so, and make personal changes to pursue a 'realistic' career have become amenable to do things to themselves in the pursuit of recreating themselves in an image recommended to them by the expert.

Garsten and Grey (1997) agree with Rose and Deetz in their analysis of the growing importance of experts in creating meaning in contemporary society. However, they argue that for many people such access to experts is discontinuous and even marginal to their every-day-life experiences. Rather, they suggest people have greater exposure to expertise through the media and through 'self-help' books. They argue that 'self-help' and 'how-to' books offer guidance on how to relieve anxiety in the post-modern era characterised by organisational restructuring and the associated labour flexibility practices. Similar to 'live' experts, these 'self-help' books offer advice, techniques, and strategies to come to know oneself, and on how to change this 'self' (including behaviour, attitudes and values) to become more effective in an ever-changing world. Such books claim to provide individuals with a way to control themselves and to some degree, control their environment. Garsten and Grey (1997) suggest that the self-help literature characteristically spells out:

> techniques and programmes for creating a coherent narrative of the self. The self forms a trajectory of development, where the past is appropriated in the light of what is anticipated for an organized future within the framework of transforming institutions and workplaces (pp. 217,218).

Garsten & Grey (1997) suggest that self-help books configure the 'self' as a site for "purposeful intervention", with an underlying assumption that individuals can "act reflexively upon the self to make it 'better'" (p. 216). However, they note such books typically ignore the restraining contextual environment within which people live their lives. In this way, Garsten and Grey argue that self-help books not only guide individuals to manage their soul in terms of Rose's (1990) analysis, but that the disciplinary nature of these books becomes clear in a Foucauldian sense in that:

> for all the humanistic talk of recognizing the inner self and knowing oneself the reality is to validate a particular version of the self which is congruent with demands of organizational life (pp. 222,223).

While their discussion focuses on managerial self-help and how-to books, their argument is equally compelling in relation to career management self-help books. Carson and Phillips-Carson (1997) have found over 3000 books published on career in the last decade, of which Greenhaus et al. (2000), Hall and Associates (1996), and Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) are typical examples. In addition, access to similar advice, strategies and frameworks can be found on the World Wide Web. Garsten and Grey (1997) argue career management self-help books:

> must necessarily be regarded as an exercise in normalization: plainly the very notion of managing a career let alone prescription of the way to do it reflects particular ways of apprehending the world and one's place in it (p. 217).

Thus the career guidance industry and career management self-help books can be viewed as new family members in the 'psy-sciences'; members who specialise in fabricating individuality around the ever changing 'needs' of global neo-liberalism. These new career experts help create a suitable work force equipped with the desired skills, attitudes and values for the contemporary world of work. These experts also help 'teach' individuals that they, and not business or government, are responsible for their own employability and welfare provision, and offer strategies that might help fulfil this responsibility. By focusing on the individual, they help to obscure the limitations of this responsibility and the structural constraints or boundaries to managing one's career. Thus, the new career experts can be viewed as providing a particular disciplinary and normalising function within contemporary society; that of facilitating the acceptance of global changes as manifest in the day-to-day lived experiences of individuals as natural and inevitable. While career experts can be viewed as providing such a facilitating role within the community, the practices internal to organisations around career are also significant. In the following section career discourse will be conceptualised in the terms of Foucault, Rose and Deetz, and their analyses of discipline, self-creation, and colonisation.

4.5.2 Career Discourse: Discipline, Self-creation and Colonising the Soul

Fox (1989) drew on the work of Foucault to argue that modern organisations are managed around panoptic techniques where senior members of organisations observe,

judge, and examine junior members' behaviour, ability, and attitudes, without being seen to do so. Disciplinary techniques can be operationalised throughout the human resource management process and used to make decisions about recruitment, selection, retention, and discontinued employment. The construct of career can be viewed as providing a set of parameters when applying disciplinary techniques. Greenhaus et al. (2000), for example, discuss the importance of selecting the 'right' person for an organisation. For them selection decisions ought to be based on 'fitting' the 'total person' to the organisational culture and job requirements, and ensuring a match between individual career aspirations and organisational career opportunities. They argue that this 'fit' can be determined by measuring recruits' knowledge, skills and abilities; matching their personal values with corporate values; and, matching individuals with the organisational culture. Selection techniques designed to determine 'fit' include interviews, resume and reference checks, psychological testing, cognitive and ability tests, personality tests, and interest tests (Harvey & Davies, 1994; Newell, 1994). Thus panoptic techniques of observation, normalising judgement, and examination are evident throughout the selection processes. By subjecting recruits to the panoptic gaze, individuals are made visible, and thus made the object of disciplinary attention and control. Willingness to subject themselves to the selection process indicates docility because candidates behave according to the rules for gaining entry into the organisation.

Grey (1994) illustrates how the application of disciplinary techniques at the recruitment phase at once individualises and makes visible recruits, yet renders successful applicants describable in a homogenous way. For example, he describes successful applicants as those who have 'A' grades in their degrees, have evidence of non-academic activities, have demographic similarities (typically white, male, middle class, and aged between 21 and 22 years), and possess the right personality and cultural knowledge. The 'right personality' is defined by the organisation as having the ability to accept routine tasks in the short term, but having the potential to present themselves well to clients and partners of the firm in their future career. Grey describes the 'right cultural knowledge' as including "beer, football, Australia, fitting

in, an ethos of work hard - play hard, *lack of critical reflection*" (p. 485, emphasis added).

Thus, before entry to the organisation, the disciplinary processes seem to filter out individuals who are deemed not to fit what Foucault (1977) termed the 'value-giving' norms of the institution. That recruits appear to lack critical reflection reflect Clegg and Dunkerley's (1980) argument that employees already come equipped with an ideological repertoire that supports the goals the organisation. Thus, the new recruits might already be fabricated as "sound and reliable ruling-class functionaries" (p. 538). Humphries and Grice (1994) illustrate how a group of Maori technical institute students are trained to fit narrowly defined notions of a corporate image. These students were required to wear either black or grey suits during formal occasions because such an image is deemed 'dressing properly' in the eyes of employers. This norm was imposed upon these students even though the jobs they were applying for would unlikely ever require this type of costume. Grey describes a selection process that appears to target individuals who already appear docile; their achieved grades indicate potential utility. Thus, he indicates, a selection of apparently docile-utilisable individuals who appear to have already been trained and normalised to learn and accept uncritically the values of the institution as fitting with their own needs, values and aspirations.

Hierarchical surveillance, normalising judgement and examination continue throughout an individual's employment in the application of formal and informal performance appraisals. Informal appraisals by colleagues and superiors help 'teach' new recruits norms and habits that are considered important to the organisation, and hence to having a successful career within it (Barker, 1993; Grey, 1994). Norms have been found to include gender specific dress codes (Deetz, 1992; Grey, 1994), acceptable hairstyles (Grey, 1994), behavioural norms, values, and a work ethic that places organisational needs before personal and family needs (Barker, 1993; Grey, 1994). Grey found that a particular wife and family life can be instrumental in career progression and getting partnership in a firm. The 'right' wife is ideally a professional

who can sustain interesting conversation at work functions; housewives are acceptable only if they are sociable. The right wife also manages home and family life, freeing up the husband to focus on managing his career. Both Grey and Fournier note incidents where friends become contacts, social activities become places to network, networks represent selling opportunities, and social gatherings become a place to conduct business. Thus, norms of behaviour extended beyond the 'space' of the organisation and into the personal realm of employees.

Formal performance appraisals monitor individual behaviour, attitudes, values, and aspirations, and make these visible to management, thus increasing managerial knowledge about individual employees. Fournier (1996) suggests that individuals are "'normalised' by being written onto a disciplinary matrix of competencies and performance criteria. The subject becomes visible and known through traces of competencies or objective achievement" (p. 3). This knowledge leads to a particular form of power within the employment relationship. Successful learning might be rewarded with promotion. Failure to comply with requirements, or to learn what is considered normal within the organisational context might lead to disciplinary action, for example, loss of promotion or pay rises, further training and development, or exit, all of which may impact on future career opportunities.

Carson and Carson-Philips (1997) suggest, for example, applying the construct of career may be a useful technique to 'counsel' out employees experiencing career entrenchment. They suggest career entrenchment occurs when individuals feel trapped in their career, are no longer satisfied with their work or lifestyle, have withdrawn their commitment to the organisation, and when their productivity has declined. For Carson and Carson-Phillips (1997) the challenge with career entrenchment "is how to encourage those who are attached to their careers, and as a result, their organisations simply for 'economic' reasons to move on" (p. 75).

While panoptic techniques might be evident, the ability to constantly apply the disciplinary techniques can be limited within the context of contemporary

organisations. Moreover, there might be legal boundaries limiting the extent and type of punishments or rewards. For example, Savage (1998) argues the purpose of creating the bureaucratic career was precisely to overcome the inability to constantly supervise workers in the developing Railway Industry. The bureaucratic career provided clear sets of rules that if followed, could lead to a 'career'. Thus, Savage suggests, self-managing behaviour has been evident since the development of the construct of the bureaucratic career model. Grey too makes a link between discipline and self-discipline around the construct of career. Grey (1994) contends:

> that the formation of a self-disciplined work force is only partly explained by reference to the presence of Panoptic techniques of sequestration. These are certainly important, but they appear to function only, or anyway most effectively, in the presence of other factors. In the present case, the pre-eminent factor is the willingness of subjects to discipline themselves via the operationalisation of the category 'career' (p. 487).

Grey (1994) suggests the construct of career "offers a relatively well-defined scenario within which individuals may develop, express and create themselves" (p. 481). Self-management or self-governance around a construct of career can incorporate all aspects of a person's life. The act of self-management involves self-interpretation of 'gaps' or 'deficiencies' in behaviour as a lacking in oneself and then taking responsibility for 'closing the gap', or suffer the consequences of non-compliance. Such a person is already amenable to do things to themselves to achieve their own career goals, to create themselves to fit a particular career image. However Grey and later Fournier argue that before an individual will manage themselves, they will already be constituted in a particular way through the new career discourse. For Fournier (1996), the new career discourse constitutes individuals as entrepreneurs and consumers. Thus she suggests career discourse and techniques:

> clearly control the subject at work as an entrepreneur by presenting careers as opportunities for personal achievement and the realisation of one's potential. However, career can only be a vehicle for self-realisation for those who make the necessary investments (e.g. in time, training), who have mastered appropriate self-knowledge (a realistic view of one's strengths and weaknesses and areas for personal development), and who take responsibility for their career by identifying (or even better, creating) opportunities and making informed choices (p. 4).

Fournier believes by fabricating the self as an entrepreneur, the self becomes an object to be known, assessed, and calculated upon in light of achieving the desired career, lifestyle, and future return on one's investment. The creation of the self as a consumer enables work to be recast as a choice made between calculated alternatives. Choosing the right career thus enables lifestyle choices to be fulfilled. Fournier (1996) suggests casting the worker as consumer of the organisation also enables a way to reassess how "employees use human resource management discourse and techniques, and infuse them with new meanings" (pp. 4,5). Thus she suggests the new career discourse seduces subjects by providing images of what we can be through offering endless opportunities to realise ourselves by re-inventing ourselves. The new career is presented as being free of boundaries and unrestrained by old bureaucratic rules; therefore, our career is what we make of it, and in this sense, career becomes a vehicle to transform ourselves into a desirable other (Fournier, 1996).

Thus both Fournier and Grey suggest, through fabricating ourselves in a particular way disciplinary techniques can facilitate the apparent act of self-management. For example Grey illustrates how disciplinary techniques within informal and formal performance appraisals help to (re)form subjectivity by providing new recruits with a picture of what sort of person will have a successful career. Trainees have to display enthusiasm and commitment even though they describe their jobs as tedious and repetitive. Grey notes that through the concept of career trainees are able to reinterpret boredom as one stage to get through to achieve their ultimate career goals. Grey suggests this reinterpretation represents instrumental rationality and disciplinary techniques in operation. Trainees begin to appear enthusiastic or actualise enthusiasm as they learn that enthusiasm and commitment are needed to 'have a career'. Thus, Grey (1994) argues appraisals appear to provide two functions in the organisation. The first is to produce subjectivity through disciplinary power (in the Foucauldian sense) by creating a sense of enthusiasm and commitment in those who are bored. Second, Grey suggests that for those who already feel enthusiastic and committed, and see links between these attitudes and career achievement the:

> disciplinary techniques actually become understood as *aids or adjuncts* to career development. Thus the existence of job appraisals, for example, is

> not viewed as a means of management control but as an almost benevolent means for individuals to realise their own projects and aspirations (p. 488, emphasis in original).

Hence disciplinary techniques are not wasted on the already docile subject; rather they act to reaffirm their beliefs in their career goals and are perceived to provide valuable information to enable then to act upon themselves to more effectively pursue their career goals. In this way, being rated and assessed are not necessarily viewed as managerial control, but as:

> a benevolent process for the realisation of perfection, a technique to assist individuals to become their true selves and to realise their aspirations. Even the act of sacking is reconstituted through the personnel department as 'counselling out', a supposedly mutual career decision for the employee to leave the firm (Grey, 1994, p. 491).

For example, Grey draws on the account of one employee who had recently been fired to illustrate the perceived relationship between the construct of career, performance appraisal and self-management. The employee had achieved 'satisfactory' performance appraisals yet lost her job as part of a downsizing exercise. Rather than contextualising job loss as part of an annual managerial cost cutting exercise, the employee blamed her performance achievements. Still viewing the performance appraisal as a benevolent process the employee maintained if she had known her performance was not up to standard she could have changed and improved herself and thus saved her job. She interpreted her job loss as personal failing. Thus, for this employee, discipline, the context of the employment relationship, and the power of management are concealed through a notion of self-deficit and poor self-management.

While Grey (1994) illustrates how employees may reinterpret performance appraisals as aids or adjuncts to career, Fournier (1996) draws out the implications for those who have not 'bought' into the new career discourse. In contrast to contemporary career discourse, Fournier found a group of employees who viewed the current flexible work environment characterised by flatter organisation structures and numeric and functional labour flexibility as creating additional boundaries to the pursuit of their career. For this group, performance appraisals are seen as managerial disciplinary techniques designed to control and manipulate workers, and job enlargement is

viewed as exploitation. These workers have not constituted themselves as entrepreneurs or consumers around new constructs of career. Nor do they believe they can pursue their desired career by merely doing things to themselves. They viewed structural constraints prevent them from doing so. However, Fournier found that these people who resisted the new career discourse were used to reproduce and affirm it in those who have adopted and assimilated themselves, and constituted themselves as entrepreneurs and consumers. She suggests that the actions of employees who refuse to take charge of their own destiny can be made visible to those who have become assimilated within the new career discourse. The actions of resisters may be recast as individual 'failings' to take responsibility for themselves, their lack of career progress the visible manifestation of their failing. Thus Fournier (1996) suggests by resisting the new career discourse, "the sanctions attached to refusing to join in, to constitute oneself in an appropriate way" can also be made visible (p. 11). The structural constraints perceived by the resisters become obscured and hidden through a discourse of the individual failing to take responsibility and to take charge of one's own career.

Both Fournier (1996) and Grey (1994) present accounts of individuals fabricating themselves, family and community contacts around a construct of career. This construct is consistent with Deetz's analysis that various other aspects of life are subordinated to and support the needs of organisations. Fournier (1996) argues the 'organisational gaze' is made evident through techniques of self-appraisal where the subject is encouraged to confess their most private desires, wishes, and feelings which then become visible, controllable, and amenable. By redefining these aspects of the self as job related competencies the regulation of behaviour extends from work to total personal behaviour with the internalisation of expected competencies and attitudes.

While career management and development planning can be viewed as a useful guide to aid and facilitate choosing the 'right' job to satisfy an individual, in light of the current employment context such a perspective is challenged by a critical reading.

The next section offers some concluding thoughts of career discourse as a normalising process within the current global environment.

4.6 Concluding Thoughts

By viewing globalisation as a micro-level phenomenon, we can make visible the connections between global macro-level structural change, organisational-level structural change, changes to the structure of work, and changes to the form of career. Contemporary career theorists proclaim opportunities within the new world of work for 'boundaryless' careers, where the 'protean careerist' (Hall et al., 1996) can create meaning for the self through properly managing their new and more exciting individually driven 'portfolio' career. Yet not all career theorists are convinced of the 'boundarylessness' expressed within contemporary career discourse.

While attributing to the impetus for reevaluating what it means to have a career to the wider structural changes associated with globalisation, restructuring, downsizing, and technological development, contemporary career discourse seldom if ever, draws attention to the structural boundaries and 'negative' consequences of these practices. The widening gap between rich and poor, downward pressure on incomes, decreasing health and safety standards in employment, increased crime, increased exploitation, marginalisation and job insecurity, declining health statistics, environmental disaster, are ignored within the new career discourse. Structural causes of differentiated access to employment opportunities resulting in over-, under-, and unemployment are reframed as individual outcomes of improperly or inappropriately managed careers. In concert with these workplace changes and the negative impacts on many peoples' lives, we witness continuing decreased government spending on welfare provision for citizens.

Pringle and Mallone (2001) draw attention to social structural constraints that continue to be silenced within the new career discourse; the same constraints they argue that limited the 'career progression' of many individuals under the traditional bureaucratic career model. For them gender, race, ethnicity, and accumulated skills

are still neglected within the individualistic discourse of contemporary career theory. They suggest sexism, racism, and lack of accessible educational opportunities continue to pose considerable social barriers to the ability to manage career. Because I have argued that there are structural constraints preventing many individuals from managing their own career in accordance with contemporary career discourse, the discourse can now be viewed in a new light. Rather than a functional set of instructions to guide individuals through the new terrain of career, contemporary career discourse can be viewed as a 'moral' project with the aim of re-fabricating individuality. Taking such a perspective allows contemporary career discourse to be viewed as a normative model that can facilitate the production of compliance and consent, and the assimilation of individuals into the wider socio-political context of global neo-liberalism.

Taking such a view allows contemporary career discourse to be seen as part of a moral project that both explicitly and implicitly guides individuals to act upon themselves to better fit the contemporary world of work. Thus, the contemporary career discourse invites us to see ourselves as a potential other, one that can and ought to recreate the self in a new image. The image presented for us is an independent, atomized individual who necessarily needs to become flexible, multiskilled, and to take charge of and responsibility for our own employment and welfare needs. Thus citizens and workers must learn what is necessary to stay employed, and that unemployment is an outcome of personal and not structural failings. The career discourse does not, for example, invite us to view the current employment environment as a contemporary political creation. Nor are we invited to question this creation or offer alternative ways of being. Thus we are to view the current environment as inevitable and 'quasi-natural'. By acting upon ourselves we explicitly or implicitly actively help to create and uphold the new system.

Savage (1998) suggests that the very creation of the bureaucratic career can be viewed as a moral project designed specifically to motivate employees to act upon themselves and to monitor their own behaviour. Savage suggests that creating a moral project

around career progression fulfilled the control needs of management at a time when direct supervision became increasingly difficult because of the growth in the size of organisations. Thus individuals managed themselves and their souls in accordance with organisational rules so that they might achieve the 'promised' career progression. Contemporary career discourse still appears to 'act' on the soul, though it does offer a different picture and trajectories of career.

Contemporary career discourse extends the project beyond the boundaries of the organisational context. It is not enough to act upon ourselves to 'fit' the needs of current employers to increase our chance of pursuing a career within our current work. We must continually upgrade and ready ourselves for new forms of work, thus safeguarding ourselves against future unemployment. If we become unemployed we are to believe it is because we are lacking or did not project ourselves in the right direction. Yet, all is not lost there is a growing body of career experts who are willing and said to be able to advise us on how to reform, re-fabricate, and fit to future proof our careers.

Taking a critical approach enables contemporary career discourse to be viewed as part of a complex disciplinary matrix that has the effect of normalising individuals' day-to-day lived experiences that have been created under global neo-liberalism. For those who succeed, contemporary career discourse offers a seductive reassurance that they have done so through personal effort. For those who experience diminished life chances, contemporary career discourse offers an equally compelling explanation: that the individual has failed. Failure to negotiate and recreate the self is punished by diminished access to the means of survival. Such a view deems contemporary career discourse problematic. For even though Foucault (1977) held that discipline improved the wealth, health, and well-being of citizens in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, I have argued that since the 1980s, global neo-liberalism is undermining the material circumstances of many citizens globally. This undermining of citizens' material circumstances has been achieved through a complex series of relationships involving globalisation, organisational flexibility and career

management and development discourse. Governments appear to have been active in creating socio-political and economic frameworks facilitating the introduction of these processes. Thus, the purpose of Chapters Two, Three, and Four, was to explore and make visible the relationships between the discourses of globalisation, flexibility, and contemporary career management. The purpose of the empirical work for this thesis is to examine these relationships within the New Zealand context and relative to the role the New Zealand government has taken in creating these processes. The purpose for the empirical research is developed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five
Purpose of this Research

5.1 Globalisation, Flexibility and Career

According to theorists, global institutions, nation states and large financial holders have been influential in negotiating the terms of globalisation that encourage the principles of free trade (Ceglowski, 1998; Cerny, 1999; Deetz, 1992; Kelsey, 1999). One significant feature of contemporary globalisation is the volume and speed with which capital can be moved across national borders (Economist, 2000; Giddens, 1998; Watson, 1999). The international movement of finance has been facilitated by international trade agreements, conventions and treaties (Ceglowski, 1998; Cerny, 1999). This economic globalisation is accompanied by the globalisation of the values of individualism, consumerism, and competition (see Deetz, 1992; Giddens, 1998; Perkin, 1996). Organisations have responded to the mandates that these changes bring by introducing various forms of structural and labour flexibilities, as discussed in Chapter Three. Multinational corporations use these flexibilities to support or respond to the rapid movement of financial capital between countries. Local firms introduce such flexibilities to attract international finance, to service international corporations, or to compete better with international corporations, or just to survive increased competition created by economic policies.

To adapt to the needs of these global- and organisational-level changes employees and citizens are required to become more accommodative: to accept changes in the type of work available, and to accept the reduced conditions of service and welfare provision, as discussed in Chapter Two and Three. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Rose, Deetz, and others, it was argued in Chapter Four that techniques and systems have been developed that are aimed at reshaping citizens to accept changes in society generally and the workplace specifically. At the heart of this argument is that new forms of control that come with the organisation changes seek to change minute individual behaviours, attitudes and beliefs through the application of normalising

techniques as discussed by such authors as Foucault (1977; 1980), Deetz (1992) and Rose (1998, 1990). This argument was extended to suggest that emergent career management and development theory is one process that helps reshape employees and citizens to undertake responsibility for themselves with regard to finding and keeping a job in the new global employment environment. The theoretical challenge of this thesis is to make visible connections between the use of micro-level career concepts, theories and practices, organisational restructuring of corporate processes, the participation of political leaders, and the global level changes associated with global neo-liberal capitalist ideology.

Driven by my interest in the concerns of Critical Theorists about the inherent exploitative tendencies of capitalism, as discussed in Chapter One, my focus in this thesis is on the impact of the acceleration of global adoption of neo-liberal capitalism. Of particular concern are the amplification of the exploitative tendencies of global neo-liberal capitalism, where changes to work and income distribution can affect the opportunities of localised industries, towns, regions, and countries. These processes have resulted, in part to uneven employment and income distribution on a worldwide scale. Emerging statistics indicate that women are particularly vulnerable. It is in this context that career management theories and techniques can be viewed as assimilist to the neo-liberal project. Gaining citizen and worker consent, acceptance or compliance to workplace and welfare change that might impact negatively upon them, their families, and ultimately their communities might be regarded as developing a form of hegemonic control.

Drawing on the contribution of Foucault, Rose, and Deetz, I have suggested that the implementation of contemporary career management and development theories, concepts, and practices is an integral part of a discourse that supports the wider discourse of globalisation and organisational flexibility. Building on Rose's analysis, contemporary career discourse is proposed and examined in this thesis as an example of the technologies of the self. I have argued that government, organisations, and experts have played a significant role in creating the current social and employment

environment, and the institutional apparatus that facilitates the re-fabrication of individuality through the discourse of career. Career discourse can also be understood as a projection of techniques of the self, where individuals use the discourse as a guide to re-fabricate themselves. In this thesis I intend to build on the contributions of these three theorists to critically examine the micro-level applications of career theory within New Zealand.

5.2 Research Themes

I have argued that globalisation, flexibility and contemporary career discourses support the implementation of neo-liberalism on an increasingly global scale. Since 1984, successive New Zealand governments have participated in negotiating the conditions of global neo-liberalism. These governments have introduced structural economic, social, and welfare reforms consistent with the political and economic aspirations of global free trade. In the last two decades, the nature and structure of employment has changed in New Zealand. These changes to employment reflect international trends, including the emergence of disparate outcomes associated with access to paid employment. One response of the Fourth Labour government was to create Career Services *rapuara*, an organisation set up to help facilitate the career management and planning of New Zealand citizens. The empirical work of this thesis focuses on the creation, purpose, activities, and institutional relationships of Career Services *rapuara.* I discuss in more detail the reasons for selecting Career Services *rapuara* as the research site in Chapter Six.

In the context of this thesis, the relationship between the reform process, changes to work, and the creation of a State-funded career agency within New Zealand is of interest. Within the broader context of globalisation and flexibility, the creation of this agency gives rise to three broad but related areas of interest to focus the empirical research upon. These research themes and associated research questions are presented below:

Theme One: Creating Career Services rapuara and related institutional webs: Governing at a distance

Successive New Zealand governments have actively sought to create, promote, and sustain the provision of career services. In this thesis I am interested in understanding the stated purpose of Career Services *rapuara* (the career service that has its roots in the provision of vocational guidance) and how this purpose may have changed since it was first established in 1989. I am interested in who the intended 'client' bases are, and how Career Services *rapuara* is funded. I am also interested in understanding what institutional relationships (if any) Career Services *rapuara* has with other agencies that have the purpose of moving citizens into paid employment. Thus I am interested in how government disseminates contemporary career management and development theories, concepts and practices within New Zealand society through Career Services *rapuara* and associated institutions. Associated research questions include:

- To what extent have successive governments involved themselves in creating an institutional apparatus to facilitate the dissemination of contemporary career discourse to New Zealand citizens? What institutions form this apparatus?
- What are the stated goals of the particular institutions in relation to linking career management and development to work placement?
- Are the goals consistent between the organisations?
- Are the goals being achieved? How is the achievement of these goals measured?

Theme Two: The contribution of the 'career expert' in fabrication of the individual self

I am interested in understanding the role that 'career experts' within Career Services *rapuara* have in disseminating the values and practices espoused within contemporary career discourse to New Zealand citizens. Relevant questions include:

- To what extent do the work experiences of career consultants influence government policy on career management and development in New Zealand?
- How do career consultants disseminate the new career discourse to New Zealand citizens?
- What assumptions do career experts draw upon concerning the nature of contemporary work and workers?

- What techniques do career experts use in the conduct of their work with clients?
- What are the goals of career experts? How do they know if their goals have been met?
- Are the professional goals of the career consultants the same as those of their clients?
- Are the professional goals of the career consultants congruent with those of the institutions they serve?

Theme Three: The career session and the individual

I am interested in gaining an understanding of how the process of career counselling sessions guide individuals to recreate themselves to better fit the global world of work. Of particular interest is how these theories, concepts and practices are applied to those who are not in work and have become the target of government interest to take greater responsibility for providing for themselves or their families. Relevant questions for this theme are:

- How do individuals engage themselves in the process of career counselling?
- What do they hope to get out of a career counselling session?
- How do they use the counselling session as a guide to re-fabricate themselves?
- Do career counselling sessions meet their needs?

The underlying concern of this theme is to examine how the application of a construct of career fabricate a cadre of docile citizens and employees, who fit more readily into the social and economic structures created under global neo-liberal ideology. Thus, gain insight into how 'career' might be perceived as disciplinary techniques and normalising frameworks.

5.3 Scope of this Research

New Zealand began structural reform in 1984 when the Fourth Labour Government was elected. The reforms brought a series of political, economic and legal changes reflecting neo-liberal economic sentiments. This trend was pursued by successive National (conservative) governments. Social critique of the liberalised framework

introduced and developed throughout this period in part led to the election of the present Labour Government (as discussed in Chapter Two). The Labour Government created the agency now called Career Services *rapuara,* through the Education Act 1989. The 1990 National Government continued to support Career Services *rapuara* as an institution providing career guidance to New Zealand citizens (more fully discussed in Chapter Eight). Thus, the timeframe of the empirical research of Career Services *rapuara* is from 1989 to the present time.

I am interested in understanding how government may act at a distance upon citizens' choices and actions through the use of organisations and experts. Thus, when exploring issues related to Theme 3 (the career session and the individual) I will focus on those individuals whom governments have decided must now take greater responsibility for themselves and their families by gaining employment. This approach is intended to gain insight into the institutional webs that have been created to facilitate the moving of those on some form of income support back to work.

My theoretical interest in critical theory and social constructivism, and the particular research themes and scope of this thesis raise methodological issues and challenges. These methodological issues and challenges are discussed in depth in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six
Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological issues associated with gathering, interpreting and presenting empirical material using a case study approach to explore the research questions of this thesis. The research design used for gathering the research data is based on the methodological considerations described in this chapter and is presented in Chapter Seven.

Section 6.2 describes the usefulness of case study research to this thesis. In particular, this section focuses on describing the instrumental case study (Stake, 1998), the type most appropriate for this research. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) introduce the idea of a partial ethnography to frame the gathering, presenting, and interpretation of empirical material for case study work. The partial ethnography requires less time for gathering empirical material than ethnographic research and more time to interpret the material. Collection of empirical material is focused on the concerns of researchers and linked to their prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study. Section 6.3 discusses the partial ethnographic approach to gathering empirical material. There are three phases to gathering empirical material that include i) ethnographic work, ii) situational observations, and iii) interviews. The objective of ethnographic work is to gain an understanding of the organisation in relation to the research focus. In phase two the researcher observes a situation that reflects the research concerns. Follow-up interviews with participants enables them to express their perspectives of the situation. Alvesson and Deetz hold that the variety of techniques used to collect material offers insights into various aspects and levels of research phenomena. This thesis aims for insights into how career management practices can be used as disciplinary and normalising techniques to assimilate workers and citizens to macro-level structural changes.

The ethical considerations that arise from using the partial ethnographic approach for research are discussed in Section 6.3.4. There are significant ethical considerations because of the variety of techniques used to gather empirical material, including participant rights to be informed, privacy considerations, how the information will be presented and used by the researcher and the organisation, and the right to withdraw. The particular ethical issues associated with the methods selected for this thesis are discussed in Section 7.7. Section 6.4 describes how the empirical material will be presented in the thesis. Alvesson and Deetz suggest that all material gathered ought to be presented in the research text, reflecting the limited amount of material gathered using this approach. However, because of the nature and size of this research the information gathered will be analysed and presented thematically in the body of the text.

Section 6.5 provides an extensive discussion of the interpretative approach characteristic of partial ethnography, which will be used in this thesis. The empirical material will be analysed using multiple theoretical perspectives that have been developed in the thesis to this point and extended in this chapter. These multiple perspectives make up the interpretative repertoire that combines the academic themes to form the theoretical frame of reference for the thematic analysis of the case study. Using multiple theoretical perspectives enables links to be made between changes at the global, organisational and micro-level practices of career. Section 6.5.2 discusses the interpretative implications of four organisational level issues that include: i) the nature of language, ii) statements as identity constructions, iii) the historical context of organisations, and iv) the political nature of organisations and research.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) identify three significant moments in critical research of insight, critique, and transformative re-definition. These are discussed in Section 6.5.3. These moments combine critical theory and post-modern concepts to help interpret empirical material. Insight seeks to gain an understanding of what is going on, critique extends this understanding by incorporating a political perspective of the social setting, while transformative re-definition sets out to recreate new ways of

meaning and being that is both emancipatory, yet practical in terms of being useful to respondents. The two techniques of transformative redefinition and dissensus-building as defined by Alvesson and Deetz (2000), that help achieve insight, critique, and transformative re-definition are discussed in Section 6.5.4. The combination of perspectives and techniques used in the interpretative phase locates organisational level practices within the wider context. Doing so will illuminate the linkages between the processes of globalisation, workplace flexibility, and the assimilist nature of emergent career concepts, theories and practices.

Section 6.6 discusses the general advantages and limitations of the partial ethnographic approach. Of particular value is the way this approach enables micro-level practices to be analysed within the macro-level context. Section 6.7 concludes this chapter by discussing the usefulness of the partial ethnography for this research. The next section discusses more fully the case study approach to research.

6.2 Case Studies

Stake (1998) describes case studies as being a concentrated inquiry into a unique case that is specific and bounded in time and space. Each case represents a unique phenomenon in terms of the nature of the case, the historical background, the physical setting, the effect of economic, political, and legal structures, and the informants who help the researcher gain understanding or insight into the case. While each case represents a unique phenomenon, case researchers seek commonalties or particularities within the boundaries of each case, for example, between people, processes, and meanings within stories (Stake, 1998). Sarantakos (1993) notes "case-study research has the aim of studying in an open and flexible manner social action in its natural setting as it takes place in interaction or communication and as interpreted by the respondents" (p. 261). The case study approach enables researchers to use a variety of methods to gather empirical material including records, documents, interviews, and observations. Hakim (1992) suggests that using multiple methods enable the presentation of "more rounded and complete accounts of social issues and processes [making the case study] one of the most powerful research designs" (p. 63).

According to Stake (1998), case studies are useful for a variety of research concerns, including critiquing grand theories, refining theory, providing insight for policy making, and highlighting complexities that require further investigation. The uniqueness of individual cases may not be captured by grand theories, indicating the explanatory limits or possible refinements to such grand theories. Insight gained from seeing people in their own setting and how they engage in their day-to-day lives provides valuable information for policy initiatives. Complexities found but not fully explained in a case may present issues for further research. Stake outlines three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective, the instrumental case study is particularly useful for this research. The focus of the instrumental case approach is to gain insight into a particular theory by comparing case material with the theory. The next section discusses the instrumental case in relation to this thesis.

6.2.1 Instrumental Case Study

Stake (1988) suggests that with the instrumental case study the case itself is of secondary interest: it plays "a supportive role facilitating our understanding of something else" (p. 88). In this thesis the 'something else' of interest is an understanding of how applied career management techniques might be used to gain compliance or acceptance to wider socio-political changes, as manifest in changes to work and career opportunities. As argued in Chapter Four, contemporary career discourse can be interpreted as disciplinary guides facilitating assimilation, acceptance, and compliance to workplace changes that are the result of organisational flexiblities and globalising processes being perceived as 'natural' and 'inevitable'. My interest is to critically explore the application of contemporary career management models as techniques applied to facilitate the re-fabrication of those currently out of paid employment to be viewed as work-able or work-ready. Career models might provide a set of instructions directing behavioural changes to meet the requirements associated with gaining paid employment in a 'flexible labour market'. Alternatively, contemporary career models might be interpreted as being unrealistic as techniques to place the self in work.

Stake suggests that "qualitative case researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines" (p. 92). This study is concerned with understanding the ordinary practices and process of 'having a career'. The academic concerns are the career practices of disciplining, assimilation and massaging choice toward wider social and political changes that advantage some while disadvantages others.

Stake (1998) notes instrumental case studies are 'ideally' chosen based on the expectation that the empirical material will lead to an understanding of the area of interest (Stake, 1998). Career Services *rapuara* has been chosen as the case for this study because it will illustrate the area of interest in some way and provide an opportunity to learn something from the particular case (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Stake, 1998). This is in keeping with Sarantakos' (1993) view that most qualitative researchers already know the type of questions to ask and what situations need to be studied, but seek insight into or understanding of their particular research question. While selecting a site is important, so too are the decisions about how long to spend researching and the quantity and type of material to gather. Alvesson and Deetz's (2000) proposed partial ethnography discussed in Section 6.3 will be used as a guide to framing the length of time spent within an organisation, and the type and quantity of information to gather.

6.3 Partial Ethnography: Collecting Empirical Material

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest critical research is not only or primarily about getting close to organisational members and understanding their perspective, it is also about "achieving distance and critical perspective on things that are too easily seen as normal, natural and rational" (p. 200). This has implications for the length of time spent in an organisation and the amount of information needed to gain a critical perspective. The partial ethnography reduces the amount of time spent within an organisation gathering empirical material in order to leave more time for interpreting material (see Section 6.5 for the discussion on interpretation). The same techniques are used to collect empirical material as other qualitative research approaches, yet

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest critical researchers pay attention to "situations, relations, events, institutions, ideas, social practices and processes that may be seen as exercising a surplus repression or discursive closure" (p. 146). They suggest that critical theorists aim to gain insight into how knowledge, processes or outcomes become viewed as "natural, self-evident, unproblematic and unavoidable" (p. 146). Alvesson and Deetz suggest this represents the less obvious signs of repression and discursive behaviour and they offer the partial ethnographic approach as a method for gaining access to these signs. The partial ethnography focuses attention on a particular theme or core phenomenon, and the collection of empirical material is concentrated around this central theme. The theme for this thesis is the application of career discourse. The specific focus of a partial ethnographic inquiry enables critical researchers to address their concerns and then to move beyond simple description and understanding of a foreign culture (as in an ethnography), to gain critical insight into and identify possible new ways of being (see Section 6.5.3). Alvesson and Deetz describe three phases to partial ethnographic research: i) ethnographic work, ii) situational observation, and iii) interviews. Each phase focuses on gathering different types of empirical material and uses different types of collection techniques. These phases and the related collection techniques are discussed in the following sections. The concluding section discusses the advantages and limitations of the partial ethnographic method.

6.3.1 Phase One: The Ethnographic Work

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that critical researchers set out to critically interpret the phenomenon under study and to provide insight that can lead to negotiated change for those people who are within the boundaries of the case. To do this, they argue, researchers need to gain local knowledge of the organisation. The aim of the phase of ethnographic work is to gain understanding and local knowledge of the organisation. This phase can take between two and six weeks, depending on the complexity of the case and availability of access to information. In this phase information about the organisation is gathered that provides insight into the area of inquiry. Specifically, the information sought for this thesis will provide insight into

the organisation in terms of the history, purpose, political influences, institutional relationships, and what services are offered and who has access to them. The secondary aim of this phase is to gain access to a range of situations from which one will be selected as the appropriate site for the situational observation of partial ethnography (as discussed below in Section 6.3.2). Collection techniques for Phase One include interviews, studying written material produced by the organisation, and observing the material culture and symbols of the organisation. The relation of these collection techniques to the ethnographic work is discussed below.

6.3.1.1 Interviews

The purpose of interviews during the ethnographic phase is to help gain an understanding of the organisational context and to seek out possible situations to observe more closely. This thesis is interested in the history of the organisation, organisational purpose and goals, what services are offered and to whom, who the clients are and how they obtain services, and what the goals of the services are for particular client groups. Many forms of interviews could be used during this phase. A discussion on types, and advantages and disadvantages of interviews as they relate to this thesis is presented in Section 6.3.3.

6.3.1.2 Written Text, Documents and Records

Hodder (1994) suggests written text is important in qualitative research because "access can be easy and low cost, because the information provided may differ from and may not be available in spoken form, and because text endure and thus give historical insight" (p. 393). However, Derrida (1978) notes that while text might provide historical information, meaning is not embedded within it; rather meaning is created in writing and reading the text. Hodder (1994) agrees and suggests as "text is reread in different contexts it is given new meanings, often contradictory and always socially embedded" (p. 394). These issues have interpretative implications, yet documents and records still provide historic and current information about the organisation.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) make a useful distinction between documents and records. Records are produced for official reasons and are statements attesting to some occurrence, for example contracts, bank statements, or pay scales. Documents are prepared for personal reasons, for example memos, letters, diaries and researcher field notes. Hodder suggests the form used to create them and the interpretative implications differ between documents and records. Hodder (1994) notes:

> Documents ... require more contextualized interpretation. Records, on the other hand, may have local uses that become very distant from officially sanctioned meanings. Documents involve a personal technology, and records a full state technology of power (p. 393).

Documents and records that provide information on the history, purpose, client base, institutional alignments, and political influence of the organisation were used in this research. The documents and records included strategic statements, contracts with other organisations, income streams, government directives and policies. Documents and records relating to client bases included codes of practice, career management techniques used, and material produced for client use.

6.3.1.3 Material Culture and Symbols

Hodder (1994) suggests that the "study of material culture is ... of importance for qualitative researchers who wish to explore multiple and conflicting voices, differing and interacting interpretations. Many areas are hidden from language, particularly subordinate experience" (p. 395). The way 'things' are used, displayed, hidden, in everyday-life may be ways of expressing resistance, or an alternative way of being to the dominant perspective as much as an expression of dominant perspectives (Hodder, 1994). Spatial relationships and design issues may indicate symbols reflecting power relations or resistance to them (Hodder, 1994). Smircich (1985) notes that symbols refer to "phenomenon that are objective and collective, and thus observable and verifiable" (p. 67). Quoting Cohen (1976), Smircich notes symbols "are objects, acts, concepts, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of disparate meanings, evoke sentiments and emotions, and impel [people] to action" (Cohen, as cited in Smircich, 1985, p. 67). Hodder agrees and suggests that people act according to their own reading and experience of cultural material and symbols.

Smircich (1985) goes on to suggest research into symbols highlight "the words, ideas, and constructs that impel, legitimate, coordinate, and realize organized activity in specific settings" (p. 67).

Of interest in this thesis are spatial configurations and symbols manifest in disseminating the construct of career to New Zealand citizens, and in particular those groups that have been targeted by government. What is of interest in this thesis is how the construct of career is used to both legitimate workplace changes, and a guide to re-organise activities, and compel individuals to behave in a way that meets the changing work and welfare environment. It is important to gain insight into how employees who provide career services perceive the wider social political changes in relation to the work they do. It is possible to discern many aspects of cultural material and symbols from interviews. Observation and interview techniques are discussed in Sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 respectively.

The material gathered during the ethnographic stage was written up as field notes and typed as interview scripts. Section 6.3.2 discusses the use of field notes in this thesis. These notes and scripts will form the basis of Chapters Eight and Nine. While the primary focus of the ethnographic phase is to gain insight into the historic and contemporary context of the organisation, the secondary focus is to prepare for Phase Two by gaining enough insight to select a suitable situation to observe. The next section discusses the situational focus and the technique of observation as a data collection method.

6.3.2 Phase Two: The Situational Focus

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) view the situational focus as the key feature of the partial ethnography. They suggest that within the partial ethnography:

> a particular situation - a meeting, a job interview, a spontaneous encounter, an event, a decision process, a problem or task delimited in time and space – rather than stable behavior patterns, attitudes or traits is the focus of study.... In a situational focus, actors as well as the institutional context are present (p. 201).

They explain how individuals and the institutional context find expression in a situational focus. First, individuals and the actions they perform are linked to specific social contexts. Individual action is to some extent bounded by the social context that they are acting within. Second, they suggest when focusing on a particular event that organisational processes become the centre of inquiry because processes make particular events possible and are embedded within the event. For them, taking the focus away from individuals and focusing instead on organisational processes removes assumptions about the "consistent and unambiguous nature (or the opposite) of people" (Alvesson & Deetz, p. 201) and allows the multiple aspects of social relations to be studied.

Alvesson and Deetz description of the situational focus is similar to Flanagan's (1957) method of 'critical incident' analysis as discussed by Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1991). Easterby-Smith et al. describe how Flanagan defines the terms 'critical' and 'incident':

> Incident [is] any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inference or prediction to be made about the person performing the act. To be 'critical' the incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and when the consequences are sufficiently definite to leave no doubt concerning its effect (p. 83).

Flanagan used his definition of 'critical incident' to form the basis of analysing cause and effect phenomena with the aim of seeking practical solutions to particular problems. His approach has similarities to Alvesson and Deetz's view of a situational focus. When using these techniques the observer already knows the purpose of the event or situation, the event is delineated in time and space, and the observation is combined with interviews to gain respondent insight into the phenomenon of inquiry. The situational focus however also seeks to gain an understanding of the organisational context and processes embedded in the situation so that multiple social relationships may be studied.

Consistent with the instrumental case study, the situation is chosen to illustrate specific aspects of the area of inquiry. The main criterion for selecting a situation for

this research will be that the situation be part of a career management process for a person who has been required by another government institution to attend a career consulting session as part of a programme to place them in paid employment. The situation chosen should also reveal something interesting about career guidance situations in terms of general patterns. Alvesson and Deetz suggest these general patterns may help generate theoretical as opposed to empirical generalisations. The main technique in Phase Two is observation. Observation as a material collection technique, and the advantages and limitations of this approach, are discussed below.

6.3.2.1 Observation as a Technique for Gathering Empirical Material

Adler and Adler (1994) suggest that social scientists "study their surroundings regularly and repeatedly, with a curiosity spurred by theoretical questions about the nature of human action, interaction, and society" (p. 377). Observation centres on gathering information by viewing, hearing, and even smelling. Observation is non-interventionist as the researcher does not attempt to manipulate or stimulate participants or the situation observed (Alder & Adler, 1994). Adler and Adler go on to describe qualitative observation as:

> Fundamentally naturalistic in essence; it occurs in the natural context of occurrence, among the actors who would naturally be participating in the interaction, and follows the natural stream of everyday life. As such, it has the advantage of drawing the observer into the phenomenological complexity of the world, where connections, correlations, and causes are witnessed as and how they unfold (p. 378).

Adler & Adler (1994) suggest three researcher membership roles predominate in modern qualitative observational research and include complete-member-researcher, active-member-researcher, and peripheral-membership-researcher. Of interest in this thesis is the role of the peripheral-member-researcher where Adler and Adler suggest the researcher interacts closely enough with members in the natural setting to gain insider knowledge, yet, refrains from becoming a member. This research role is consistent with two goals of this research. First, it allows the researcher to maintain a balance between keeping a distance from participants and gaining critical insight; and second, keeps the focus on observing a situation rather than on individuals in order to gain insight into organisational processes.

Observed events are recorded in the form of field notes. Fontana and Frey (1994) advise when using field notes material should be written down as quickly as possible (if not during the conversation then as soon after as practical), write down everything that can be remembered including minor details, be inconspicuous when writing notes, and analyse the material frequently. Field notes contain what the researcher hears and sees, without interpretation or making inferences about the feelings of participants or why things happened as they did (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Rather than making inferences, insight gained from the observed event is used to guide the construction of interviews for Phase Three of the partial ethnography, which is designed to gain participant's views and feelings of what went on (see Section 6.3.3). Alvesson and Deetz recommend gathering all empirical material before interpretation (see Section 6.5 for a discussion on interpretation). This approach is consistent with the critical intent of this research of challenging current social structures and power relationships, as reproduced through contemporary career discourse, with the aim of gaining insight into how career discourse might be emancipating if the wider context of careers were different. The next section reviews the advantages of observation as a collection method.

6.3.2.2 Advantages of Observation

Adler and Adler (1994) state that observation enables the researcher to see what goes on in a setting without affecting the setting too much. Themes and new questions may emerge throughout the observation process, which may lead to deeper insight into the social relations embedded in the situation as well as into the realities as perceived by participants in the situation. Manifestations of symbols and material culture can also be observed. Smircich (1985) suggests this can provide insight into what constructs compel people to act in particular ways; what words, practices and discourses are legitimated and privileged; and who benefits and who is marginalised by such words, practices, discourses and taken-for-granted truths. Kvale (1996) suggests that observations can provide valid knowledge when studying people's behaviour and their interaction with their environment, and when combined with interviews may be useful for gaining insight into "implicit meanings and tacit understandings, like taken-for-granted assumptions of a group or a culture" (p. 104).

These advantages are particularly useful in critical research as they enable the researcher to gain an understanding of what is going on in the current organisational context. Combining observation material with the information gathered during the ethnographic work and interview phases (Phase Three, 6.3.3) may lead to insightful interpretations, critique, and change (see 6.5.2 for a discussion on these points). However, observation as a collection technique also has disadvantages.

6.3.2.3 Limitations of Observations

Observation material is not necessarily suitable to make generalisations from one situation to another. However, generalisations are not the primary goal of critical research, rather insight into a particular situation and theoretical generalisability is sought (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Observation used in isolation has the possible disadvantage of researcher bias through misinterpreting what they see or hear (Adler & Adler, 1994; Kvale, 1996). Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) agree and argue that as an isolated method, observation fails to find out why people behave in certain ways, hence from a social constructivist perspective, this method alone may be of little value. Combining observations with interviews decreases the chances of observer bias in interpreting actions of others. Fontana and Frey (1994) argue that observation and interviews go hand in hand because material from observation often comes from informal interviews. Alvesson and Deetz agree that observations ought to be followed by interviews to gain better insight into the phenomenon from the participants' perspective. They also suggest interviews be used when an appropriate or useful situation cannot be found. In this situation the interviews should focus on a critical incident that has a career orientation. The following section discusses the use of interviews in the partial ethnography.

6.3.3 Phase Three: The Interviews

Interviews are used during the ethnographic work phase to help gain understanding of the organisation and to seek possible situations to observe. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) believe that interviews conducted after the situational observation are useful to gain greater insight into participants' meanings, interpretations, and intentions about what took place. They suggest post-observation interviews be based on information

gathered during the ethnographic phase, from the situation observed and the researcher's prior knowledge of the area of inquiry. The focus of post-observation interviews in this research was to seek an understanding of what took place in the situation from the participants' perspective. The aim is to understand how they perceived, interpreted and experienced a new construct of career and how this new construct compels them to behave differently.

The technique that Alvesson and Deetz (2000) term 'drilling' is useful for gaining deeper insight into participants' perspectives by using information gathered during the research process as a basis for directing interviews. The purpose of drilling is to enable the researcher to gain better insight into what interests them, and to gain access to sensitive material. They suggest that drilling can break down norms of acceptable speech, reduce impression management type scripts, remind interviewees of particular events, and show participants the researcher has insider knowledge, thus helping to break down barriers between them and the interviewee. They note, however, that drilling can pose the risk of over-direction and lead interviewees to say what they perceive the researcher wants to hear. Yet, questions that are too open-ended run the risk of interviewees reporting reproduced official stories. Kvale (1996) offers a solution by suggesting good research questions "should contribute thematically to knowledge production and dynamically to promoting a good interview interaction" (p. 129). Kvale continues by saying thematic contribution occurs when the research questions "relate to the topic of the interview, to the theoretical conceptions at the root of an investigation, and to the subsequent analysis" (p. 129).

Much has been written about the effect the interview location might have on establishing interview rapport. Fontana and Frey (1994) suggest choosing a setting for interviews should be dependent on the type of information sought and where the interviewee feels most comfortable. They suggest within the organisational context, interviews might best be conducted on neutral ground, for example at lunch and away from the premises, rather than in offices or where others might listen to conversations. External interviews might be best conducted at sites where the interviewee is most

likely to be, for example, Fontana and Frey noted gaining access to elderly living in poverty required going to the streets where the homeless elderly lived. Other factors Fontana and Frey suggest might help build rapport include the researcher dressing in relation to the interviewees, interviewer language use, and the level of trust the interviewee has in the interviewer. Trust might be built through ensuring participant safety and confidentiality of their material. These issues are also ethical considerations and are discussed fully in Sections 6.3.4 and 7.7. These issues are important because the setting and level of rapport and trust built might influence the type of information gathered. Interview formats also influence the type of information gathered and are discussed next.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) note the interview formats used in partial ethnography are chosen to enable participants to give their perspective on the area of inquiry, and to provide the researcher with the opportunity to clarify points to increase their understanding and gain insight into the phenomenon of inquiry. This builds on the suggestion of Kvale (1996) that the process of interviewing is a process of knowledge construction through the interplay between the interviewer and the interviewee. The particular interview formats used in the partial ethnography and in this research include conversations or unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews, as discussed in Section 6.3.3.1. Interviews and conversations can be tape-recorded or written as field notes. The ethical considerations of these interview formats and tape recording interviews are discussed in Sections 6.3.4 and 7.7.

6.3.3.1 Interview Types

Fontana and Frey (1994) suggest that in the broadest sense interviews seek to gather information through asking questions of people. For Kvale (1996), the purpose of qualitative research interviews is to obtain "qualitative descriptions of the life world of the subject with respect to interpretation of their meaning" (p. 124). Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) suggest that interviews are useful when:

a) it is necessary to understand the constructs that the interviewee uses as a basis for her opinions and beliefs about a particular matter or situation;

> b) one aim of the interview is to develop an understanding of the respondent's 'world' so that the researcher might influence it, either independently or collaboratively... (p. 74).

The first 'particular matter of interest' in this thesis is to gain an understanding of what career constructs the 'career experts' use to base their opinions and beliefs about their role as career management advisors. The second matter of interest is to understand how clients perceive the career constructs used in the session to form their own 'opinions and beliefs' about the situation they are engaged in. Insights from the interviews will help gain understanding of the notion of 'career' from different perspectives and highlight alternative points of reference. Conversations, unstructured interviews, and semi-structured interviews will be useful for achieving these research goals.

Conversations and Unstructured Interviews: Fontana and Frey (1994) suggest that the goal of conversations and unstructured interviews is to gain an understanding of "the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (p. 266). For Maykut and Morehouse (1994) conversations and unstructured interviews are useful when the researcher is interested in "*participant perspectives*, the language and meanings constructed by individuals" (p. 82, italics in original). They note in unstructured interviews and conversations the interviewer asks purposive questions relating to the area of inquiry to help gain an understanding of local knowledge and experiences from the people within the setting. Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) suggest topic guides be developed to provide a flexible structure to facilitate unstructured interviews and conversations. The responses provide insights to the situation and clues for developing new series of questions. Conversations and unstructured interviews will be useful in the ethnographic and post observation interview phase. Topic guides for the ethnographic phase can be developed around the theoretical themes of this research to help gain understanding of the language and constructs used by organisational members. The purpose is to gain an understanding of how organisational members understand the term career, their role in providing career services, and how they view the links between their organisation and others. Conversations will be particularly useful in the post-

observation interviews. Theoretical topic guides and questions will be developed relating to the situation with the intent of gaining insight into the participants' perspective of what went on. Drilling may facilitate the development of questions through the process of post-observation interviews. Thus, the aim is to construct meaning and understanding based on the participants' perceptions of the event.

Semi-structured Interviews: Kvale (1996) defines semi-structured interviews as having a "sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subjects" (p. 124). The sequence of themes or questions is set out in either an interview guide or interview schedule. Interview guides are made up of a series of topic areas or broad questions, whereas interview schedules have a more formalised question sequence (Kvale, 1996; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Maykut and Morehouse suggest interview guides are useful when little is known about the research area. An interview guide can also be useful during the ethnographic phase and the post observation interviews. In this research then, interview guides based on theoretical interest could facilitate gaining an understanding of the organisation in terms of its history, purpose, goals, institutional links, services offered, and defining who the client bases are. An interview guide will be used to provide a framework for asking generic theoretical questions in the post observational interviews. The guide will be designed with the aim of understanding how the person came to be a client of the agency, what their expectations are, and whether these are met. The guide will also frame the investigation into clients' perceptions of relationships between various institutions and how they see themselves 'fitting' into these institutional webs.

6.3.3.2 Advantages of Interviews

Conversations, unstructured and semi-structured interview approaches enable researchers to gain an understanding of a phenomenon from the respondents' perspective and provide the opportunity to clarify what respondents mean (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Kvale, 1996). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) note that these interview techniques are particularly useful when little is known about the area of inquiry.

Moreover, Kvale (1996) suggests that when combined with observations, these interview types can help build a deep understanding of taken-for-granted behaviour of people within their own environment (as noted in Section 6.3.2.3 above).

6.3.3.3 Limitations of Interviews

Kvale (1996) notes inappropriate use of interviews can lead to partial understanding or misunderstanding of the area of interest. Others note interviewees might limit what they say because of perceived implications for themselves or their organisation (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Easterby-Smith et al., 1996). Easterby-Smith et al. note that micro-politics of organisations can lead to guarded answers or power plays between the interviewee and the interviewer, ultimately affecting the type of information the interviewee is willing to give.

Each of the phases in the partial ethnography and the associated collection techniques pose ethical considerations. The following discussion focuses on general ethical considerations for qualitative researchers who use interviews and observation, the specific considerations to protect the interests of respondents in this research are discussed in Section 7.7.

6.3.4 Ethical Considerations

Stake (1998) suggests case studies "often deal with matters of public interest but for which there is neither a public or scholarly 'right to know'" (p. 102). He suggests that at times qualitative researchers often seek the values, opinions, and feelings of others, when exposure of which may lead to embarrassment, job loss, or negatively affect their career. Fontana and Frey (1994) discuss general ethical considerations of qualitative research as including obtaining informed consent by explaining what the research is about; the right to privacy by protecting respondent identity; and, the protection from harm, whether it is physical, emotional or otherwise. They add several more ethical issues to this list including the degree to which respondents know they are participating in research; how empirical material is reported; the degree to which researchers become embedded in the situation; and to what extent and in what situations do researchers act as 'natives'. Further, Fontana and Frey maintain that

traditional in-depth interview techniques are unethical because the techniques and tactics employed "are really ways of manipulating respondents while treating them as objects or numbers rather than individual human beings" (p. 373). Following from this, semi-structured interviews that use the technique of drilling may also be inherently unethical because respondents are lead to explain specific areas of interest to the researcher. In this research drilling will be used to direct respondents to answer specific questions that relate to the area of inquiry and in this way could be viewed as unethical and manipulative. Yet, the drilling will be used to gain respondents' views, opinions and beliefs about the use of career constructs, whether they are members or clients of the organisation. It is the very human nature of their stories that is of interest. Because of the human interest, the inherently unethical nature of interviews can in some way be seen to be mitigated.

Adler and Adler (1994) note that observational methods have inherent ethical considerations similar to those expressed by Fontana and Frey. In particular, for observation research the ability to gain informed consent and the degree to which participants know they are being observed for the purposes of research are significant. Participants in this research will have the opportunity to give (or decline) consent to being involved in the research. Participants will be given information about the purpose of the research, intended collection methods and so on. However, participants will not be informed about the theoretical framework that makes up the interpretative repertoire for this thesis. This is to prevent participants telling me 'stories' that they think I want to hear, as opposed to telling me their story from their own perspective. This is consistent with the Ethical Guidelines of the University of Waikato. For the purposes of this thesis, ethical issues will be addressed in accordance with The University of Waikato Ethic Committee guidelines. The application of these ethical considerations as they relate to this thesis is developed further in Section 7.7.

6.4 Presentation of Empirical Material

Stake, (1998) suggests that with cases the reader comes to know the case through the experience and narrative of the writer/researcher and through what others reveal about the case. For Stake, Alvesson and Deetz and others, knowledge is constructed and case study researchers contribute to that construction. Therefore, they caution that researchers must be aware of how their presentation of empirical material might highlight, obscure, and reveal what they have studied.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that all empirical material gathered in the partial ethnography be included in the body of the written report. They argue this may be achieved because of the concentrated approach of this method. Less material is gathered compared to other methods, yet the material collected is focused on the area of inquiry. They suggest that the focused approach allows more time for interpretation (see Section 6.5 below). They argue that presenting all material enables readers to evaluate the interpretations of the researcher. The situation is fully described or presented to allow for in-depth interpretation drawing on multiple perspectives to help explain or analyse the situation and gain an understanding of it. By presenting all material they argue that very little is hidden through coding techniques and it reduces the ability of researchers to select material to support their particular perspective. While Alvesson and Deetz argue for full inclusion of empirical material, this approach is impractical for this doctoral thesis. While using the partial ethnography will reduce the amount of material gathered compared to other methods, the volume of material collected for this thesis will still be significant making inclusion of all empirical material gathered impractical. Rather, the material gathered in the ethnographic phase will be thematically drawn upon in the appropriate analysis chapters of the thesis and the observed situations will be described. While not strictly following Alvesson and Deetz's recommendations, this approach works within the constraints posed by the magnitude of material gathered in this doctoral research.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that the researcher keep separate the tasks of gathering empirical material, describing that material, and interpreting it. While they

believe the whole process of research is inherently interpretative, as the researcher and participants are seeking to understand each other, they believe it is still important for the researcher to maintain an open attitude during the collection stage. This requires that analysis and interpretation to be left until all empirical material has been gathered and written up. The next section discusses the role of critical interpretation within the partial ethnography.

6.5 Interpretation

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) place interpretation at the centre of partial ethnographic research. They note interpretative processes involve paying attention to something, creating an image of it, giving non-obvious meanings to it, and then exploring meanings by giving more depth to the 'something' by taking an unexpected view of it. They suggest building an interpretative repertoire, so that in-depth readings can be achieved by critically interpreting empirical material from multiple theoretical perspectives. This 'interpretative repertoire' is discussed further in Section 6.5.1. In critical research the interpretative repertoire functions to guide the gathering of empirical material and the interpretative process. Alvesson and Deetz suggest gathering all empirical material before meaningful interpretations can be made. They suggest this because they believe four key issues are embedded in empirical material that have implications for interpretation and these issues may not be evident until all material is gathered. These issues include i) the nature of language, ii) statements as identity construction, iii) the historical context of organisations, and iv) the political nature of organisations and research. These issues are discussed in Section 6.5.2. Once the material has been gathered, Alvesson and Deetz discuss three moments in critical research of insight, critique and transformative re-definition. From a critical perspective, one is seeking to gain insight on "patterns indicating discourses, meanings and social practices that are dominant" (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 148), leading to the repression of alternative ways of talking, knowing and acting. These moments are discussed in Section 6.5.3. They offer two techniques of defamiliarisation and dissensus building (discussed in Section 6.5.4) to help critique and build transformative re-definitions. Because interpretation is crucial in the partial

ethnography, the following sections discuss the issues embedded in the interpretative process in depth.

6.5.1 The Interpretative Repertoire

The interpretative repertoire is made up of the theories that are used as a frame of reference in the research project. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) note the purpose of the theoretical frame of reference is to help the researcher gain useful insights and interpretations from the empirical material, and to help reduce the likelihood of becoming overwhelmed by the mass of material gathered. The interpretative repertoire is made up of the paradigmatic, theoretical and methodological qualifications and restrictions that guide and constrain research work. Alvesson and Deetz explain the interpretative repertoire as the academic side of the researchers' pre-structured understandings of what to look for in their research, or in Stake's (1998) terms, foreshadowed knowledge.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) maintain that the interpretative repertoire ought to guide all aspects of the research project including the choice of site, the interview questions asked and which ones to follow up, and which aspects of the observed experiences receive more or less attention. Empirical material is constructed and produced according to the theories included in the repertoire and the aspects of those theories that the critical researcher is attempting to gain insight into. The interpretative repertoire is used to guide interpretation by linking empirical material to related academic themes or paradigms. The thematic analysis may result in challenging the theories used as well as highlighting additional theories or themes that the researcher had not initially considered. In this situation these new ideas might be included in the research, making the interpretative repertoire emergent (Alvesson, 1998). Having a variety of theoretical frames of reference also enables the consideration of many meanings embedded in the empirical material. While the interpretative repertoire guides thematic interpretation and analysis, Alvesson and Deetz argue that there are four issues embedded in empirical material that also need to be considered. These issues are discussed in the following section.

6.5.2 Considerations for Interpretation

The four issues Alvesson and Deetz (2000) identify as being embedded in empirical material include the nature of language, statements as identity constructions, the historical context of organisations, and the political nature of organisations and research. Each of these issues and the associated interpretative implications are discussed below.

6.5.2.1 The Nature of Language

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that the nature of language must be understood in terms of i) the metaphorical and contextual use, ii) the functional use, and iii) the social norms of expression. The metaphorical and contextual nature of language refers to the notion that meanings may be organisationally specific, as a result affecting the degree to which meanings may be transported from one organisation to another or from one situation to another. For example, the way in which the term career is understood and what experiences constitute having a career might differ between organisations and situations.

Second, Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that language has a functional use and that language use should be understood as an action with intended outcomes. They argue language use also needs to be understood within the context that it is used. Thus, interviewees might use language to appear a certain way to the researcher (e.g. trustworthy, intelligent, organisationally aware); use the interview to achieve certain ends (e.g. to achieve organisational changes); or attempt to make a good impression to the researcher/outsider.

Third, Alvesson and Deetz suggest language may be an expression of norms. Social norms of expression may determine what can or cannot be said. Norms can have meanings embedded within certain words known to insiders thus (re)creating site-specific language. Social norms might also prescribe how certain people, for example, managers might be described. They suggest what is heard in interviews and conversations might be a statement of what is acceptable to say as well as an indication of what goes on in the organisation. The type of language and questions

used in interviews can affect the type of responses given. The researcher might also lead respondents to say some things and not others, resulting in empirical material that is reflective of the social construction of the interview by the interviewer, rather than hearing the stories of the interviewees.

These issues embedded in the nature of language lead Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) to conclude that there are three interpretative possibilities from interview data. First, statements may say something about the social reality of the organisation; for example, how leaders behave. Second, statements may reflect individual or socially-shared 'subjective reality'; for example, their experiences, beliefs, stereotypes, cognition, or norms of expression. Third, statements may say something about the norms for expression or ways of producing particular effects and such accounts need to be interpreted in terms of what is accomplished from them. Deciding on how to interpret statements is determined by the researcher and is based on all empirical material.

6.5.2.2 Statements as Identity Constructions

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that researchers consider statements in terms of identity constructions. Descriptions or statements can reveal a person's identity through what they say or do not say, as much as reveal something about the context of the research. They suggest that people have multiple and constructed identities, and which one they express may be an outcome of the questions researchers ask, thus triggering a certain identity response. Identity construction then has implications for interview design. Alvesson and Deetz also note that researchers need to be careful about using others' descriptions to infer generalisations of events outside the current context as these descriptions may be reflective of identities structured in the particular context.

6.5.2.3 The Historical Context of Organisations

Researchers must understand the historical context of organisations in order to understand the current cultural and social context. Organisations change over time; these changes include language use, meaning constructions, structures, ideological

underpinnings, and socialisation patterns. External influences such as economic climate and the legal environment change over time too. These macro-level conditions may impact upon micro-level practices. The interpretative implications of the historical context of organisations affect how issues are conceptualised. The historical context may also affect the usefulness of established theories in relation to the current phenomenon. Inconsistencies between historic theories and the current research might indicate the need for additional research, the change in time frame, or local variations between the historical and current research. Changes over time may also affect identity construction and norms of expression. Comparisons of historical and contemporary knowledge might reveal the extent of change (if any) that has occurred.

6.5.2.4 The Political Nature of Organisations and Research

Punch (1986) argues that people within organisations and research projects need to be conceived as politically driven. For research purposes Alvesson and Deetz (2000) view politics as:

> the wider institutional and ideological issues which shape society and social relations. Politics refer to the dominance of certain values and interests, irrespective of whether these are accompanied by consensus or conflict (p. 131).

Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) consider politics in research concerns the power relationships between the individuals and institutions that make up the research project. They believe that within an organisational context the political relationships can affect what is researched, who is included in the research, and the outcomes in terms of publishing material. They note that most social science research focuses on the relatively powerless, weak, and vulnerable members of society, because more powerful members have the means to protect themselves from being researched. Within hierarchical organisational contexts the most powerful are managers and board members. Kunda (1992) notes that access to people and situations may be inversely related to their position within the hierarchy. Powerful organisational members have been found to restrict the type of information they provide by restricting access to

situations they consider sensitive and by managing the interview (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Kunda, 1992).

Many authors (e.g. Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Kunda, 1992; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Smircich, 1985) believe that the research project also needs to be conceived as politically driven. What is studied, how it is studied, and who is included in that study are political decisions. Research outcomes are also political in nature, whether they help reproduce current relationship patterns or seek to challenge and transform them (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Thus, these authors suggest that researchers need to develop political awareness when interpreting empirical material. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest the political nature of organisational relationships may be revealed by focusing on diversity, evaluating the empirical material, and identifying 'ground power'. Traditional forms of diversity such as gender and race may be built into research. Less obvious forms of diversity, for example, the belonging to a particular network or organisational group, or ideological attitudes, may emerge throughout the process of research. Studying a range of diverse interests can reveal political conflict. Building diversity into research has implications for evaluating the empirical material, and interviews might need to be evaluated in terms of the political interests served by the interviewee. This evaluation is political in itself, because the researcher decides whose voice ought to be given more weight. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) believe that critical researchers need to attempt to uncover those mechanisms that make phenomena seem natural, normal, and unavoidable so that alternative forms of action seem impossible. These mechanisms are what they refer to as "ground power" (p. 133).

Alvesson and Deetz argue it is because of the implications surrounding these issues that that all empirical material needs to be considered before interpretations can be made. Rich and deep interpretation is one of the main goals of partial ethnographic research. To this end, they argue that the 'intellectual role' within critical research has

three moments of insight, critique and transformative re-definition. These moments are discussed in the following section.

6.5.3 Insight, Critique, and Transformative Re-definition

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) believe that the contemporary role of the intellectual and especially the critical researcher is:

> more appropriately one of enabling an open discourse among the various stakeholders than one of either establishing a superior insight or the authoritative establishment of a truth (p. 139).

Instead of gaining one world-view, they suggest the aim of critical research is to understand the distinctions between diverse people and thus gain new ways of thinking about how things are. They offer three moments in critical research of insight, critique and transformative re-definition as ways of developing progressive understandings of differences and commonalties within the area of inquiry, and possibly developing new ways of thinking and acting. Alvesson and Deetz incorporate aspects of critical theory and post-modernism in their description of each moment to help critically interpret empirical material.

6.5.3.1 Insight

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest insight attempts to unravel taken-for-granted knowledge that we use in our everyday life to conceive, reproduce or reject the social world we live in. They go on to say:

> Insight denotes the process of seeing into the various ways in which this knowledge and the seemingly objective character of objects and events are formed and sustained (p. 140).

From a critical theoretical perspective, insight looks at the hermeneutic understanding of language. From a Foucauldian perspective insight looks at the archaeology of knowledge. Rather than viewing language as representing truth the hermeneutic view of language enables meaning to be understood as representing dominant taken-for-granted ways of being. Viewing language in this way enables the opening up of other possible understandings and ways of being. Insight then is the process of producing meaning in empirical material through at first knowing how to collect meaningful

empirical material, knowing how the material fits together, and understanding the conditions that lead to the meanings produced (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Insight is related to and an outcome of interpretation. Interpretation seeks to gain an understanding of something that is ambiguous, or find ambiguity and complex relationships in things that appear 'natural'. A successful interpretation that is insightful then:

> (a) addresses something non-obvious, (b) makes sense of something, and (c) is perceived as enriching understanding – it adds something to what the subject understood prior to the insight (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 141).

Insight is about uncovering the processes that make meaning and individual situations possible, as opposed to the meanings or the individual situations themselves. It is here that insight reflects Foucault's notion of the archaeology of knowledge. Foucault (1970) describes archaeology as:

> An inquiry whose aim is to rediscover what basis knowledge and theory became possible; within what space of order knowledge was constituted; on the basis of what historical a priori, and in the element of what positivity, ideas could appear, sciences could be established, experience be reflected in philosophies, rationalities be formed, only perhaps, to dissolve and vanish soon afterwards (p. xxi-xxii).

To uncover how knowledge becomes taken-for-granted truths, the organisational level study needs to be located within the historical, social, legal and economic context that the organisation operates in. By studying the wider context, Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that insight detaches knowledge from the ahistorical truth claims and by doing so reopens knowledge as something worthy of debate. This process ought to help reveal choices that may have been obscured and reopen moments of conflict and debate. Insight then frees up people from past knowledge based on past needs that are reproduced in everyday talk and action allowing an opening for new meaning creation (Deetz, 1992).

6.5.3.2 Critique

Critique provides the political meaning to insight by focusing on interpreting empirical material in terms of power and domination. The difference between insight and critique is that:

> critique explicitly relates to the conditions of power, constraint, social asymmetries, ideological domination, cultural inertia that give privilege to certain ways of understanding and ordering the world – an understanding that is achieved without full consideration of alternative discourses and guiding principles for social life (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 144).

Critique is concerned with uncovering structures that support certain forms of power in order to open up discussion to marginalised or silenced voices. Critique is directed at convention and structure of social orders, and the forms of knowledge and privileged understanding that are complicit within such orders (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Foucault's notion of the genealogy of knowledge and the critical theoretical notion of deconstructing knowledge help in the process of critique. Foucault (1980) argues that orders are strategically selected, controlled, and transmitted throughout society, and that these orders advantage some groups over others. These orders are transmitted through what Foucault call 'apparatus'. Apparatus are always of a strategic nature; what is transmitted and how it is transmitted is manipulated in some way to enable the development, restriction or stabilisation of the forces behind the apparatus. The purpose of the orders is aligned with the political intent of the powers in society that establish the apparatus. Foucault (1980) argues that apparatus is "always inscribed in the play of power, but it is always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge which issue from it but, to an equal degree, condition it" (p. 196). Knowledge and apparatus are linked in a particular way. Produced knowledge both helps create apparatus and is sustained by apparatus. Produced knowledge can guide or restrict participation as much as reproduce or restrict domination. Deconstructing produced knowledge is fundamental to the critical research project.

Produced knowledge privileges those who produce and sustain it. Deconstructing knowledge can reveal historical processes that produced dominant views and the processes that occurred to silence alternative forms of knowing. Deconstruction can highlight the suppressions associated with knowledge creation or taken-for-granted truths; deconstruction may also cast doubt on assumptions about unitary acceptance of knowledge being based on the truth-value of that knowledge (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Critique has the function of exploring power and domination within the local

level of the study through the empirical material. Yet, these themes need to be contextualised within the macro-level conditions in which the organisation exists that enable particular forms of power and domination to reside in the micro-level. Thus, Alvesson and Deetz suggest that redefining current practices, structures, and ways of being are the natural counterpart to insight and critique. Transformational redefinition is discussed in the next section.

6.5.3.3 Transformational Re-definition

The object of redefining situations is to offer alternative ways of being. New forms of knowledge need to be produced; yet, such production is not by 'nature' more democratic nor more participative. For Alvesson and Deetz (2000), the day-to-day struggle for democracy comes not from new forms of social relations but from the ongoing negotiation of new forms of structures, meanings, and relationship patterns. Further, gaining insight and redefining how things are will not in itself produce change. Alvesson and Deetz argue it cannot be assumed that individuals who recognise domination and repression can automatically do something about it. Such an assumption ignores modern forms of control and prior learning, and the extent to which people rely on the institutions that they are involved with, for example for employment and income. Further, Friere (1970) notes that to effect change and create more participative and democratic social relationships requires the building of new responses to the forms of domination that are uncovered through the processes of insight and critique. People need to learn how to respond to the structures of domination before they can resist such structures. Alvesson and Deetz suggest that people must learn critical literacy skills to enable the recognition of domination, and the development of competing discourses, and the skills and technologies required to effect changes or to resist domination.

They note that it is not the intention of critical theorists to inform or instruct others on how to make changes; rather, transformative redefinition is aimed at opening up different ways of thinking and hence potentially new ways to act. Thus redefining any situation needs to be connected to the actors involved in the situation. Alvesson and Deetz argue if the organisation cannot gain any practical improvements from the

process, the research remains at the critique level. While this may not be useful to the organisation, the insights gained are likely to be of academic interest. However, creating transformative redefinitions that are useful involves focusing on the empirical material that show signs of different ways of being within the organisation. The aim is to open up new ways to engage in the social order, gain insight in to current ways, broaden ethical considerations, look for new practices and create a new reality (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Alvesson and Deetz offer the two techniques of defamiliarisation and dissensus-building to help create insight, critique and transformative re-definition. These techniques are discussed below.

6.5.4 Defamiliarisation and Dissensus Building

The techniques of defamiliarisation and dissensus building can help achieve the aims of critical research to investigate themes that are hidden through taken-for-granted knowledge or practices that obscure alternative forms of knowing and being. Such 'natural' or common sense practices and ways of knowing work to pre-structure choice or to set boundaries to what can be imagined or achieved as alternative social practices. Defamiliarisation and dissensus building can help reclaim suppressed voices, knowledge and potential ways of structuring social relationships. These techniques are discussed in this section

6.5.4.1 Defamiliarisation

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) define defamiliarisation as the process of turning the well-known into something strange by interpreting social phenomena in novel ways. The interpretative repertoire helps the researcher see things differently. Within critical research taken-for-granted knowledge and practices are viewed as obscuring different forms of knowing and being if alternative voices had been heard at the developmental stage of knowledge and practices. Alvesson and Deetz suggest that within the research process, defamiliarisation requires creating distance and negations. Creating distance from the familiar aims to reduce the likelihood of the researcher becoming blinded by what is seen as normal and natural within the area of inquiry. Many organisational researchers are, for example, already embedded in the managerial discourse as an outcome of their own academic training. Alvesson and Deetz also

suggest that creating distance in the research process can be achieved by using researchers from non-managerial backgrounds or academics from working class backgrounds, who are less likely to be embedded in the cultural norms of managerialism and taken-for-granted common sense values associated with this discourse.

Kvale (1996) argues that dialectics is "the study of internal contradictions – the contradiction between the general and the specific, between appearance and essence...the development of contradictions is the driving force of change" (p. 55). Alvesson and Deetz suggest creating negation or contradictions enables researchers to think dialectically about the phenomena observed. Creating contrasts between what is seen and what could be, ought to enable empirical material to be interpreted and conceptualised in novel ways and help build practical transformative redefinitions that challenge oppressive practices. Negative dialectics can be produced by locating the current situation within the historical context and disclosing the decisions and processes leading to current practices; at the same time showing possible alternative or forgone forms of social relations (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Deetz, 1992). Theoretical counterpoints, desirable dialectic counterpoints to actual observations, and metaphors can also help turn the familiar into the foreign and illustrate alternative knowledge and practices.

6.5.4.2 Dissensus Building

The role of dissensus building is to reclaim moments of suppressed conflict that have become hidden by the appearance of consensus. For Alvesson and Deetz, apparent consensus is in part the outcome of the two processes of discursive closure and distorted communication. These two processes help produce knowledge, practices, and social relations that appear natural, inevitable, and self-evident. Critical researchers attempt to create dissensus and reopen discussions that were previously thought unnecessary. Discursive closure occurs when potential conflict is suppressed. Suppressing conflict can be achieved by denying certain groups the right to speak or restricting their access to speaking forums; requiring 'expertise' as a prerequisite to speak; de-skilling, which ensures people lack the ability to speak; and privileging

some forms of speech over others. Systematically distorted communication is evidence of discursive closure. Within the organisational context, Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest systematic distortion:

> is not based on a simple mismatch of a fixed interest with a fixed expression but an interactionally determined reduction of certain experiences to other ones (pp. 179,180).

Distorted communication leads people to act in ways that are not consistent with their own needs and values, because the communicative interactions that they have had lead them to behave accordingly. The resulting actions appear to be based on consensus, at the same time making invisible the conflict that could have been expressed. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) go on to say:

> Methodologically the reclaiming of dissensus requires historical insight into the discussion that the consensus ended and the process by which the consensus was produced; it also requires creativity in outlining the discussion that may have happened (p. 180).

Historical insight into consensus building can indicate conflict that occurred during the process leading to the apparent consensus. Over time such conflict becomes hidden, as organisational knowledge appears to be common sense, natural, and even neutral (Deetz, 1992). When such knowledge is used to make decisions past conflict is suppressed further, reinforcing the notion consensus has been achieved. Part of the critical research agenda is to rediscover dissent if the apparent consensus is removed (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000).

The partial ethnography seeks an understanding of a phenomenon in its natural setting, located within the historical, political, social, legal and economic context. The process of partial ethnography and the techniques used to gather, analyse, and interpret material, attempt to gain critical insights and to uncover power and domination that is so oppressive that it limits the lives and choices available to organisational members and citizens. While many of the advantages and limitations of particular aspects of the partial ethnography have already been discussed within the previous sections, there are some advantages and limitations worth discussing that relate to this method of inquiry in its entirety. These are discussed in the next section.

6.6 Advantages and Limitations of Partial Ethnography

The following discussion focuses on the overall advantages and limitations of partial ethnography as a specific type of qualitative inquiry. The individual components of partial ethnographic research have already been detailed and discussed earlier in this chapter.

6.6.1 Advantages of Partial Ethnography

The advantages of the partial ethnographic approach stem from using multiple methods used to gather empirical material, using an interpretative repertoire, and focusing on interpretation. Combining multiple methods to gather empirical material helps negate some of the inherent weaknesses of particular approaches and builds on the strengths of each method. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) note that critical theorists generally argue that our day-to-day lives cannot be separated from macro-level influences, and that our daily ways of being (either through our activity or inactivity) strengthen macro conditions that in part determine our lives. The use of ethnographic work enables the researched case to be situated in the historical, political, legal, economic, and social context. By doing this, the partial ethnographic method actively seeks to locate the micro-level phenomenon of the organisation within the macro-level context.

The focus on observing a particular event followed by interviews has many advantages. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that observing an event which reflects the area of inquiry in some meaningful way can provide insight into the dynamics of the social relations and processes within the organisation, for example, the "modes of ordering rather than social order" (p. 205). The observation of a situation enables the study of naturally occurring events, and thus, possible insight to how things are within the organisation. Follow-up interviews enable the researcher to clarify participants' views and perspectives of the situation and can deepen the account of the phenomenon.

While focused interviews are used to gain deeper insight into what went on in the situation, the partial ethnographic method does not rely on interview accounts as the sole source of empirical material. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest by taking the focus away from interview accounts, the research focus becomes less 'biased' in three significant ways relating to the nature of language, the functional use of language, and norms of expression (as discussed in Section 6.5.2). Because language is often site specific, focusing on a situation and then using interviews to provide additional explanatory material may enable greater insight to be gained into what went on and the meanings behind words used. Interview scripts alone may provide 'key words'; yet these words may reflect popular speech of the time. For example, in this thesis key words in popular speech relating to careers include 'flexibility', 'boundaryless careers', 'protean', and so on; yet these terms can be defined and operationalised in many different ways. Not 'seeing' how key terms are operationalised in the particular organisation can result in gaining nothing more than repetitions of current popular speak. Misleading empirical material can also be gathered as a result of interviewees using language to achieve personal goals unrelated to the research project (e.g. interviewees wanting to appear a certain way, to achieve certain ends, to make a good impression). The same applies when interviewees talk in terms of norms of expression. By reducing the use of interview material to focus on gaining understanding of actual events these biases can be lessened, if not avoided.

Limiting the length of time spent collecting empirical material allows more time for interpretation and making sense of social relations. For Alvesson and Deetz (2000), this presents one of the most 'crucial' advantages of the partial ethnography as compared to other methods where more time is spent on gathering empirical material at the expense of interpreting it. Having an interpretative repertoire enables deeper insight into the phenomenon from multiple theoretical perspectives. The interpretative repertoire may also provide multiple approaches to critique the empirical material. Enhanced insight and critique, combined with an historical knowledge of the organisation, may better enable the researcher and organisational

members to recreate social relations and define more inclusive ways of being within the organisation.

Because the partial ethnography is limited in time and space, Alvesson and Deetz (2000) recommend that all empirical material be included in the research report. They argue that this enables readers to engage in the researcher's interpretative processes, and thus evaluate the strength of argument, and the degree that the material is comparable to other situations. Presenting all empirical material also prevents ambiguity in relation to the extent that researchers have selected pieces of supporting evidence to back up their own argument. Including all empirical material in the final report, thus enables the reader to participate democratically in the research process. While these represent significant advantages, in this thesis the empirical material will be thematically presented because of the quantity collected (as already discussed). While the partial ethnography offers many benefits to critical researchers, the approach is not without limitations.

6.6.2 Limitations of Partial Ethnography

The limitations of partial ethnography stem from the case study approach, methods used, and the time spent researching. Stake (1998) argues that comparisons between case studies are difficult because of the uniqueness of each case, however, narrative descriptions in case study research allow limited comparisons. This limitation is more marked with instrumental cases and the situational foci, because both are specifically chosen to illustrate the interests of the researcher. However, generalisability is not the focus of partial ethnography. Rather partial ethnography focuses on understanding the commonalties and particularities within an organisation. Because the specific situation chosen for research is limited in time, space and representativeness, there is a risk of giving a selective impression of the phenomenon under study, and the situation may not be useful to make generalisations within or outside of the organisation (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). The timeframe can limit the insight gained from the situational observation; for example, the researcher might not gain insight into the history of the situation observed or people involved, or reveal what happens to the

people involved after the event. Yet this approach still offers considerable benefits for this research.

6.7 Concluding Thoughts

Partial ethnography is the appropriate method of inquiry for this research for two reasons. First, the theoretical repertoire enables multiple perspectives to guide the research design and interpretation of material, and enables blending key concerns of critical theory with postmodernism. The political concerns of critical theory can be blended with an investigation of micro-level practices through the lens of disciplinary forms of control. While discipline works on the minute moments of day-to-day life experience, these fragments joined, articulated, and understood in their many manifestations make up the relationships in society. These relationships are powered, gendered, and often oppressive for some, yet minute day-to-day experiences resulting from these relationships might be recast as 'normal', 'natural', and 'inevitable' through power-laden apparatus and disciplinary techniques. By maintaining the political awareness of critical theory, issues can be addressed as outcomes of political and historical decisions and not simply the outcomes of individual action and choice.

Second, the approach focuses on collecting concentrated material relevant to the inquiry. This approach fits well with the specific interest of this thesis in gaining insight into the relationships between macro-level political changes, institutional frameworks, and the application of career discourse as a method to change citizens' expectations of job, income, and welfare security. The reduced collection time fits well with the issues of interest in this thesis, yet offers a robust framework that also meets the requirements of research at this level. This allows for the material collected to be analysed using the multiple theoretical approaches that make up the interpretative repertoire for this thesis. The following chapter discusses the research design that will be used in this thesis, based on the methodological implications discussed in this chapter. This will include the presentation of the methods applied to gather empirical material in the research.

Chapter Seven
Research Design

7. 1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to make visible the relationships between the discourses of globalisation, flexibility, and contemporary career management and development. The focus is to explore how contemporary career theories, concepts, models, and practices discipline and normalise citizens and employees to accept changes to the structure of work. Of particular interest are those situations where such changes disadvantage people, including themselves, their families, and their communities. This research design is based on the partial ethnography as discussed in Chapter Six. This chapter begins by briefly bringing together the previously discussed theoretical themes that will form the basis of the interpretative repertoire (Section 7.2). This will be followed by a discussion of the criteria used to select an instrumental case (Section 7.3). Section 7.4 discusses the guidelines for gathering empirical material using the phases of the partial ethnography as a framework. Criteria for building a sample are detailed in Section 7.5. The ethical considerations associated with this project are discussed in Section 7.6. The methods used to gather empirical material are presented in Section 7.7 and the limitations of this research are outlined in section 7.8.

7.2 Interpretative Repertoire: Career Discourse as Discipline

I have argued that micro-level career management practices cannot be analysed without reference to the macro-level context of global neo-liberalism, and the introduction of various organisational and labour flexibility strategies (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three respectively). Within this wider context micro-level career management and development programmes can be interpreted as a set of disciplinary techniques that facilitates the re-fabrication of individuals. In this context, such re-fabrication would involve changes in perceptions, attitudes, behaviours and expectations around notions of work, what it means to be a worker, and accepting responsibility for personal and family welfare. In this wider context employees and

potential employees (e.g., those who are currently not in paid employment but seeking to be so) are required to take charge of their own continued employability and welfare provision by creating themselves as flexible workers with the 'right' skills. Embedded in the contemporary career discourse is the suggestion that such a person can choose their career to satisfy lifestyle choices and desired income levels. There is also the suggestion that unemployment can be avoided by correct planning. Thus unemployment can be viewed as an outcome of individual failure to correct the self, as opposed to an outcome of insufficient jobs in the economy or decisions by others to restructure industry or the economy as a whole. I have argued that by applying contemporary career management and development techniques, individuals can be re-fabricated to believe they must take personal responsibility for creating selves that 'fit' the current employment environment. By making the individual responsible for changing the self to fit current employment opportunities the purposeful intent behind creating macro-level political, legal, economic and social changes can be obscured, and these changes appear as natural and inevitable. I have argued that massaging individuality to gain compliance and assimilation to global neo-liberalism is problematic because under this system the gains and losses are disproportionately redistributed throughout our global society. Notions of naturalness and 'inevitableness' make it difficult for citizens to conceive of the current structure as an outcome of political decision making.

Four distinct yet interrelated theoretical approaches have been selected to form the interpretative repertoire for this thesis. These approaches include i) insights from critical theory (as discussed in Chapter One), ii) insights form Rose's analysis of governing the contemporary self through organisations, experts, and self-management, iii) insights from Foucault's analysis of the panopticon as a space for the micro-application of discipline (as discussed in Chapter Four), and iv) insights from communicative practices that may suppress choice (as discussed in Chapter Six). These approaches have been chosen specifically to make visible the connections between the complementary discourses of globalisation, flexibility, and career. These approaches also enable career management techniques and practices, and the

outcomes of applied career management to be analysed from different perspectives. Combining these approaches makes it more likely that this research will locate changes in micro-level career management techniques within the broader macro-level context. The following discussion briefly outlines the interpretative possibilities of each perspective.

The key concepts developed by critical theorists (as discussed in the introduction of this thesis) of hegemony, domination, reification and organisations as social and historical institutions, along with Foucault's (1980) notions of the genealogy and archaeology of knowledge are particularly relevant (as discussed in Chapter Six). These concepts will facilitate the historical construction of organisation, and enable the types of views that are present and expressed over other possibilities to be made visible. These concepts allow the empirical material to be interpreted within the micro-level context of the organisation, and locate this within the changing legal, economic, social and cultural context in which the organisation is embedded. Of particular interest is an exploration of the impact of the processes of globalisation and changing work opportunities on the lives and well-being of individuals who are currently not in paid employment and are required by government to find paid employment (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three respectively).

Rose's (1990, 1988), analysis of developments in governing the contemporary self provides a framework for analysing the relationship between global changes, organisational changes, and the re-fabricating of human beings. His focus on the processes that governments can engage in to govern citizens at a distance through organisations and experts is particularly fruitful for this thesis. This framework allows connections to be made between government participation in creating global neo-liberalism, their subsequent introduction of national-level political, economic, and legal frameworks supporting global-neo-liberalism, and their creation of an institutional apparatus to re-fabricate citizens to 'fit' the newly created macro-level environment. Including experts in the process of governing at a distance allows examination of the role that career guidance professionals have in re-fabricating

individuality to better match the changing macro-level context. Deetz's (1992) analysis of the processes of colonisation provides insight into how the contemporary construct of career might be a vehicle for corporate life to extend into non-corporate life. His analysis of deinstitutionalisation strengthens Rose's argument that experts increasingly focus on fabricating individuality and normalising experience.

Drawing on Foucault's (1977) analysis of Bentham's panoptic prison, contemporary career management and development discourse can be viewed as providing a metaphorical space to investigate modern forms of disciplinary control. Hierarchical relationships, surveillance, and examination are embedded in processes of applied contemporary career practices and techniques. Compliance is rewarded through the suggestion of a successful career; punishments for non-compliance include unsatisfying employment prospects and indeed, unemployment. Foucault's (1976) contribution of re-creating the self through confession and Rose's (1990) analysis of 'techniques of the self' illustrate how individuals participate in the process of re-fabricating themselves through career. Therefore, the construct of 'career' can be viewed as providing both incentives and sanctions to facilitate human beings to (re)conceive a more 'desirable self' by offering practical steps to achieve this 'ideal' person (as discussed in Chapter 4). Thus normalisation to the new world of work may be achieved through discipline and self-disciplinary processes.

The theoretical communicative themes of discursive closure and distorted communication are used to understand what the dominant view of 'career' is within the organisation, how individual career counsellors define career, and what happens to counsellors who have alternative views of career. These themes are also used to understand how the terms of globalisation and flexibility are conceived within the organisational context, and how these conceptions affect the understanding of career and career practices of the counsellors when dealing with their clients. Insight is sought into how career counsellors conceptualise the current (and possible future) position of their clients within the wider context of globalisation and flexibility.

This interpretative repertoire has guided the empirical work of this thesis, including selecting the instrumental case study, collecting the empirical material, choosing the sample, and interpreting material. The next section discusses the criteria that were used to select an instrumental case.

7.3 Choosing the Instrumental Case

The concern of this thesis is to make visible the connections between government involvement in creating the infrastructure that facilitates the introduction of globalisation and flexibility with government involvement in creating an institutional apparatus that facilitates the dissemination of contemporary career discourse to New Zealand citizens. Of particular interest to this thesis is gaining an understanding of the career counselling experiences of people who receive some form of welfare income and have been instructed to attend career guidance to facilitate their return to work. Their perceptions of contemporary career discourse will be very valuable in revealing the disciplinary and normalising processes of applied career management techniques. In order to achieve these purposes the case chosen needed to fulfil the following three criteria:

1. The organisation must be involved with administering government career policy to New Zealand citizens. Thus the organisation must be part of the government apparatus designed to manage New Zealand citizens at a distance through the application of contemporary career discourse.
2. The organisation must provide career consulting services through the use of in-house 'career experts' or through contracting career consulting firms.
3. The organisation must provide career services to groups of people that government has expressed a desire to support in order to facilitate their gaining paid employment. This criteria is set to help understand how career management techniques might be used to re-fabricate these people to see themselves differently and make changes to themselves in an effort to gain paid employment.

These three criteria were applied to choose Career Services *rapuara* as the instrumental case (to be discussed in Section 7.7.1). The next section reviews empirical material collection procedures within the case study.

7.4 Collecting the Empirical Material

The three collection phases within the partial ethnography of ethnographic work, observation, and interviews were used to gather the empirical material. Each of these phases is discussed separately below to detail the different methods used and the different type of information sought within each phase.

7.4.1 Ethnographic Work: Collecting Background Information

The purpose of the ethnographic phase was to gain local knowledge of Career Services *rapuara* as the organisational site. The collection methods of conversations, interviews and reading written material were used to gain an understanding of the organisation in terms of:

- the history and the current context of the organisation;
- past and present ideological underpinnings of the organisation;
- the rationale for creating the organisation;
- how the organisation is connected to government;
- what other institutions the organisation has relationships with;
- the purpose of the organisation;
- the services the organisation provides;
- who the clients are;
- which client bases are required to accept services provided by the organisation;
- how the organisation provides career services to individuals or groups who are required to attend;
- who provides these services; and,
- what the expected outcomes are for those groups who are required to attend sessions.

The technique of drilling (discussed in Chapter 6) was used to guide the development of the questions during the interviews and conversations. Where appropriate interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, otherwise the empirical material was be written up as field notes (see Section 7.7 for the ethical considerations of this). The material gathered in this phase has been used to describe the organisation presented in Chapter Eight and has been drawn upon for the thematic analysis presented in Chapter Nine.

7.4.2 Criteria for Choosing a Situation to Observe

The situation observed needed to be a career counselling session that provided insight into how career consultants apply career management techniques to individuals who were not in paid employment, receiving some form of income support, and who have become the target of government interest to return to paid employment. Descriptions of the situations are presented in Chapter Ten. The observed situations were followed with interviews to gain the participants' perceptions of what went on in the counselling session.

7.4.3 Follow-up Interviews

When the observations were complete, I arranged to interview the clients and counsellors. The interviews began with a semi-structured interview guide based on the theoretical interests of this thesis. This was followed by interview questions designed using the technique of drilling. These questions were based on the observed situation and attempted to gain insight into the counsellor and client's perceptions and interpretations of the counselling session.

Initial themes covered in the client interview included how they came to be involved in the career counselling session, how they felt about the session, what they expected to gain form it, what they believed they gained (or not gained) from it, how they perceived the techniques used, and whether they perceived the session would lead to employment.

Initial themes covered in the counsellor's interview included why the techniques used in the session were selected, what they felt about the session, and how they perceived the session would help the client in the future. Further theoretical themes covered in the interview structure for the consultant included their perception of the purpose of the organisation, how they saw their role in achieving those purposes, their perception of the government role in providing career management and development services to the public, and how useful they believed the current system was in achieving the goals of the organisation, government, and their clients. Additional questions were asked on the basis of the observed situation. The material gathered in this phase is presented in Chapter Ten. The following section describes the criteria applied for selecting the sample.

7.5 Building a Sample

Sample selection was staged reflecting the three phases of the partial ethnography and the particular type of empirical material sought from each phase. Throughout all three phases respondents were selected based on their ability to add something to the understanding of the research topic. Key informants, purposive, and snowball samples meet the criteria of selecting respondents in this way. Key informants are people able to inform the researcher about the nature of the setting and research questions (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; Gilchrist, 1992; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Gilchrist (1992) maintains a key informant "needs to be thoroughly encultured and currently active within his or her own culture in order to represent accurately that culture (p. 75)". The advantage of using key informants is that they can provide rich data about a community in a relatively short period of time due to their access to information and their insight of that community. However, Marshall (1996) suggests that key informants can provide biased information reflecting personal or minority perspectives. Additionally, informants might not be sufficiently encultured within the organisation.

The purposive sampling technique results in a small number of respondents who have relevant knowledge and information about the research question (Gilbert, 1995;

Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggest that purposive samples can be chosen to reflect the variability in the social setting under study. They refer to this approach as 'maximum variation' where respondents are selected to represent the greatest differences so ranges of experiences are represented within the area of research. This reflects to goals of critical research where maximum variation seeks a range of information that is relevant to the setting and research questions (as opposed to seeking generalisability) and diversity is built into the sample (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Gilchrist, 1992; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Yet, Sarantakos (1993) notes that the judgement of the researcher is important when deciding whether individuals may provide information relevant to the area of inquiry reflecting the constructed and political nature of research. Purposive samples can be built using the snowball technique where informants are asked to recommend others who might provide insight to the research inquiry (Sarantakos, 1993).

The aim of the ethnographic work is to gather insight into the organisation as discussed in Section 7.4 above. Key informants with access to the type of knowledge discussed in Section 7.4 were sought. Senior management, the human resource manager, line managers and career consultants were identified as the employees most likely to have an understanding of the various issues in this thesis. It was anticipated that the initial key informants would be able to identify others who could contribute to the research. Thus, the sample used both purposive and snowballing techniques. Selecting a sample in this way reflects Gilchrist's (1992) two-step sample selection criteria. The first step is to choose key informants based on the theoretical knowledge of the research. The second step is to select respondents who are willing and able to provide relevant information.

The ethnographic work provided insight to Career Services *rapuara* that enabled the selection of a situation to observe (discussed in Section 7.7.3). The actual number of people included in the sample was determined by gaining insight and understanding of the organisation. The sample was kept small with only 14 people involved in the

research. The ethical implications of gathering information these people are discussed below.

7.6 Applying Ethical and Quality Considerations

This research gained the ethical approval of the Waikato Management School Ethics Committee (see Appendix 1 for Ethical Approval Application). Gaining informed consent, rights to withdrawal, privacy and confidentiality, and the storage and disposing of empirical material are the principal ethical issues. The ethical elements that are of relevance to this research inquiry are presented in the appendices. Each of these issues differs slightly for each phase of the research. Accordingly, for each phase of the research separate information sheets addressing the ethical considerations were designed. Appendix 2 sets out the organisational level ethical considerations, Appendix 3 sets out the considerations for participants in the initial ethnographic interview phase, and the ethical considerations for the clients are presented in Appendix 9. Briefly, respondents were invited to participate in the research, had the right to withdraw information or decline to answer questions, would remain anonymous in the thesis and any subsequent publications, and the information gathered would be stored and disposed of in an appropriate manner.

The work of Creswell (1998) informed the development of quality standards for this thesis. Creswell recommends that at least two out of eight dimensions be met to ensure quality standards in research (pp. 201-202). Four of these dimensions have been incorporated in this thesis. Throughout the field research, I made decisions regarding what material was relevant to the study. These decisions enabled me to follow new leads and to use the technique of drilling to follow-up new information. Second, triangulation was achieved by using the multiple phases of the partial ethnography, where multiple sources of information was sought in the form of written material, interviews and observation. Third, my work was peer-reviewed by my PhD supervisor who "asked hard questions about methods, meanings, and interpretations" (Creswell, 1989, p. 202). Finally, all aspects of the case and research process have been 'richly described' in appropriate chapters to enable readers to determine the

transferability of the themes in the thesis. The next section describes in detail the actual methods used for this thesis.

7.7 Method

This method section is divided into five sub-sections. Section 7.7.1 discusses the process of selecting the instrumental case and gaining entry to Career Services *rapuara* for this project. The process and methods used in the ethnographic phase, the observation phase and the post-observation interviews are discussed in Sections 7.7.2, 7.7.3, and 7.7.4, respectively. The actual sample is described in Section 7.7.5.

Written and interview material was gathered during phase one. The written material included government documents and reports and internal reports from Career Services *rapuara*. The government documents provided historic information about why successive governments created and continued to support a career agency. Of significance was the stated goal of government that Career Services *rapuara* provide career education, information, advice and guidance to advance political objectives. These objectives included linking education and training with labour market outcomes, enhance individual understandings of changes in the labour market, and to equip citizens with the skills to become 'self-steering' in their personal career planning to 'fit' into the new employment environment. The internal documents and reports from Career Services *rapuara* provided me with insight into how the government objectives were interpreted and articulated through creating policy, services and products. The written material was important to the research as it enabled Career Services *rapuara* to be located within the historic and political context in which it was created. The written material gathered in this phase is presented in Chapter Eight.

The interviews conducted throughout the ethnographic work enabled me to gain an understanding of how the participants interpreted government policy directives in relation to the way they conducted their work. During these interviews I gained insight into the key government reports affecting the operation of Career Services

rapuara, and an understanding of the services and products created to facilitate achieving government directives associated with providing career education, information, advice and guidance. It also became apparent that the predominant client bases were out-of-work individuals sent to Career Services *rapuara* from either the Department of Work and Income or the Accident Compensation Corporation. These two organisations 'purchased' a variety of career services including guidance sessions form Career Services *rapuara* on behalf of their own clients to facilitate the achievement of 'welfare-to-work'. The material gathered in these interviews were important to gain an understanding of how Career Services *rapuara* participants articulated themselves in terms of career service 'experts' in the achievement of government policy and also provided insight into selecting an appropriate situation to observe for phase two of the research. The interview material gathered in this phase is presented in Chapter Nine.

The understanding that the majority of Career Services *rapuara* clients were sent by either the Department of Work and Income or the Accident Compensation Corporation for career guidance sessions with the goal of moving welfare recipients or accident insurance recipients back into paid employment formed the basis of designing phase two of the research (as discussed in Section 7.7.3). The decision to observe a guidance session involving clients that had been targeted by government as requiring assistant to move from welfare-to-work was important to this research because it helped me gain insight into three related processes of interest. First, it enabled me to gain insight into how the Career Services *rapuara* participants practiced a guidance session. Thus I could compare the narratives of the participants of what they 'did' during a guidance session with an actual event. Second, I could compare the guidance session with the described process as espoused by career theorists (e.g. Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994). Third, the insight gained would enable me to gain insight into the relevance of interpreting a career guidance session as a form of 'expert' intervention enabling government to 'manage at a distance'. The observations are described in Chapter Ten.

The events observed during the guidance sessions formed the basis of phase three: post-observational interviews (as discussed in Section 7.7.4). The interviews with the guidance counsellor and the clients were important to help gain understanding and insight into how these participants viewed the guidance session. The interviews with the guidance counsellor helped extend understanding of how staff viewed their role in helping people gain paid employment, why certain guidance techniques and processes were chosen, and the extent to which the guidance counsellor located their work into wider socio-political changes. The post-observational interviews with the clients were designed to gain understanding of what they thought took place within the guidance session, how useful they thought the session was to their personal circumstances, and whether they thought they would 'act upon themselves' to gain paid employment.

The combination of techniques used in the partial ethnography enabled me to gain a deeper understanding and insight into the links between government involvement in creating the broader context of global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility and the creation of a career agency designed to re-educate New Zealanders about the ensuing changes to employment. Thus, this approach enabled triangulation of the empirical material to occur which enabled me to critically interpret the material gathered in light of the theoretical framework established in Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

7.7.1 Choosing the instrumental case: Career Services *rapuara*

Career Services *rapuara* was selected as the case because it met the criteria set out in Section 7.3. Career Services *rapuara* provided a site where the multiple interests of this thesis could be explored. Career Services *rapuara* was created by Government to provide New Zealand citizens with access to career advice, information and guidance. Career Services *rapuara* employs career consultants to provide these services to the public. The organisation provides career guidance to the groups that I have a particular interest in for this thesis: the unemployed receiving unemployment welfare payments, single parents in receipt of welfare payments, and Accident Compensation Corporation clients in receipt of accident compensation entitlements. These three

groups have become targets of government policies in recent years; 'encouraged' to participate in return-to-work initiatives, in part through offering career management information, advice, or guidance. Thus, as an organisation, Career Services *rapuara* is the ideal site for understanding the multiple aspects of this thesis.

Initial contact was made by telephone with the CEO of Career Services *rapuara,* followed by an e-mail with the organisational information sheet attached (Appendix 2) which set out my intentions for the thesis. This included a comprehensive list of possible areas of inquiry based on my theoretical understanding of the issues of concern. After the CEO had discussed my proposal with senior management and the board I received approval to conduct my research. Several points are worth noting here. First, my chief supervisor is a member of the board. The ethical considerations of this were discussed with the CEO prior to approval. The CEO felt comfortable proceeding with the research with the current chief supervisor. Second, as I gained insight into the case, many of the areas I initially expressed interest in appeared less relevant while others seemed more relevant to the research. Thus some of the information on my list was not pursued while other areas that came to my attention were. For example I placed less emphasis in understanding the demographic composition and wage structure of the organisation and more attention to the history, political connections with government, institutional relationships with other organisations, and understanding who the client bases were. These issues offered greater understanding of my research themes. My change of focus was mentioned to the CEO who continued to support the research. At the outset of the research I was provided with the assistance of the Development Officer, who acted as my main key informant, and without her help, this thesis would not have progressed as smoothly as it has. The next section begins to document and describe the methods that I have used to gather material throughout this thesis.

7.7.2 Phase One: Gaining Insight into Career Services *rapuara*

There were two objectives of Phase One. Primarily, this phase was designed to gain insight into Career Services *rapuara* as an agent of the State, as a work organisation,

and as a career guidance agency. Second, this insight gained was used to develop the second (observation) and third phases (post observation interviews) of the research. The type of data collection techniques used in this phase were conversations, semi-structured interview guides and schedules, reports, and documents and records. The conversations were primarily with my key informant who provided valuable insight about whom to talk with and what sorts of questions might be relevant. She also provided names of people within the organisation who might be able to access text material and set up the interviews with staff. In addition to these conversations, the background phase compromised three distinct processes of i) first round interviews, ii) second round interviews, and iii) gathering written material in the form of reports, documents and records. Each of these processes is discussed below.

7.7.2.1 First Round Interviews

I was presented with the opportunity to interview three people, (two branch managers and a board member). These people were contacted through my key informant and interviews were set up. I designed a 'Respondent Information Sheet and Consent Form (Appendix 3) and two separate interview guides, one for the managers and the second for the board member (see Appendices 4.1 and 4.2 respectively). These interview guides were based on my theoretical understanding of my research topic. The interview guides, respondent information sheets, and consent forms were e-mailed to the participants prior to the interview times. This was to enable participants' to reflect upon the questions prior to the interview. These interviews aimed to gain an understanding of the organisation in terms of what the goals were, how these goals were reached, and who the client bases were. I also sought an understanding of their careers, the possible career opportunities within Career Services *rapuara*, and whether there had been any downsizing within the organisation since they had been working there. I handwrote notes throughout these interviews, typed up the responses and returned these to each respondent for editorial comment and continued consent. At this point, some information was withdrawn from the research to protect participant identity.

Based on the outcome of these three interviews I redeveloped the interview guides by separating the questions and themes of interest into two separate interview formats totalling eight different interview guides. One questionnaire was designed to hand to participants to fill in on their own time, the second was designed as a guide for face-to-face interviews (these interviews are discussed below). Because this approach varied from my initial intentions I gained approval with the key informant. There were two reasons for redeveloping the questionnaires in this way. First, the original interview guide took much longer to conduct than anticipated. This posed a difficulty for the participants as they had booked time with me based on my initial assessment that the interviews would take approximately ninety minutes, yet the interviews took closer to two-and-a-half hours. Thus by designing two formats it was hoped to reduce the interview time and to ensure coverage of the information wanted. Second, I had gained some insight into Career Services *rapuara* as a result of the initial interviews and wanted to incorporate this insight into the next series of interviews. I also made the decision to tape-record the interviews as well as to take notes to capture more of the richness of the interviews.

The first format was a generic questionnaire form to be handed out to participants to fill out in their own time (see Appendix 5.1). This questionnaire was designed to gain an understanding of the respondent's own careers and the type of careers available to them within Career Services *rapuara*. This was to understand how career management discourse might be understood within an organisational context. One person filled out this questionnaire. The themes reflected in that questionnaire have not been included in this thesis. I decided not to pursue this line of inquiry in this thesis for four reasons. First, the focus on the agency's client base provided enough material to complete the thesis. Second, as more insight was gained the theme of internal career patterns seemed to distract from the main topic of how career management techniques were used to facilitate return to work for the groups of people government had expressed concern about. Third, because the participants were very busy in their work it seemed unfair to pursue the line of inquiry when the PhD could be completed without it. Fourth, it became apparent that there might not be a suitable

situation to observe involving career guidance for staff. Rather, the participants indicated career guidance opportunities were quite informal and often driven by individuals and/or management interest. However, an inquiry into how contemporary career management and development techniques might act to discipline and normalise workers to accept uncritically wider political and economic change may be pursued easily in future research.

The second format designed for face-to-face interviews resulted in seven separate interview guides (see Appendices 5.2 to 5.8). Each interview guide related specifically to particular positions within the organisation. While most of the questions and themes were duplicated in these seven guides, there were some specific questions reflecting the particular position of the participants interviewed. These eight interview guides formed the basis of the second round interviews as discussed below.

7.7.2.2 Second Round Interviews

The second round interviews were conducted over a period of one week. In all, eight people were interviewed in this phase. The respondents were e-mailed a copy of the respondent information sheet, consent form, the generic interview guide, and their specific interview schedule prior to the interview time. Of the eight respondents in this phase, two indicated they could not fill in the generic guide because of workload commitments and, as it turned out, only one respondent filled out the generic interview guide.

The generic interview schedule focused on the possible career paths within the organisation. The individualised interview guides focused on the history of the organisation, the influence of government on the organisation, the goals and purpose of the organisation, what people did in their particular jobs and how they perceived what they did, and the organisations client bases.

In all, 10 staff from three separate branches and one board member were interviewed in the background phase of the research. Of the 10 staff interviewed, two were career

consultants, three were branch managers (who were also actively involved in career consulting), and five were members of the senior management team. Three of the senior management team interviewed had been career consultants. Thus, eight of the 11 initial respondents were career consults. Many of the staff interviewed had worked in more than one branch. Consequently while three branches were used as the sites from which to gather background information, five regions of the country were referred to in participants' stories. In addition to the wide geographic coverage, the career consultants had extensive experience with a variety of the customer bases including working with Accident Compensation Corporation clients, Women to Work programmes, high-school students, the Department of Work and Income individual clients, and individual fee paying clients. These client bases are discussed in Chapter Eight.

7.7.2.3 Gathering reports, documents and records

The initial list of reports and documents was composed on the basis of prior theoretical knowledge (see Appendix 2.2). This list was amended as a result of gaining insight throughout the early interviews (see Appendix 5.9). The actual written material used is included in the references. A staff member was assigned to help gather these documents, reports and records for me.

7.7.2.4 Finding New Leads

Throughout the first and second round of interviews, the Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation were frequently referred to as major clients of Career Services *rapuara*. Because of the importance of these organisations as contractual clients, I contacted them to establish the reasons they used Career Services *rapuara* and what they excepted their clients to gain from these services. Contact was initially by phone and e-mail (see Appendices 6 and 7 respectively). Information from these two organisations, primarily gathered through e-mail interviews and in some instances through reports sent to me, enabled deeper insights into how career management techniques could be applied to the unemployed to gain paid work.

At the end of Phase One I had enough understanding of Career Services *rapuara* to be able to continue to design the second phase of research: that of choosing a suitable situation to observe. Three possible situations met the criteria as set out in Section 7.4.2 above. The first two possible situations included observing a career counselling session with either a client sent by the Department of Work and Income who was receiving an unemployment welfare payment or a client sent by Accident Compensation Corporation who was receiving accident compensation entitlements. The third possibility was to observe part of the "Women to Work" course. These three client groups are required to attend career counselling services with the purpose of facilitating return to paid employment. It was in this phase of my research that I decided to only include material that related to clients who were sent to Career Services *rapuara* by a third party institution as part of the conditions for continued income support or provision. The reasons for this decision were outlined in Section 7.7.3.1 above. The next section discusses the process of finding particular situations to observe.

7.7.3 Phase Two: Observations

A fourth branch of Career Services *rapuara* was selected in which to base the second phase of this research. There were several reasons for choosing a fourth site. First, it would enable greater insight to be obtained on the organisation. Second, the site chosen was easily accessible to me. Third, this would reduce the amount of time required by any one branch to remain involved in the research. This was an important consideration, as it became clear in the early phases of the research that staff had high workloads. Thus, involving a fourth branch would reduce the potential for overloading a smaller number of participants with extra research commitments. The process of gaining entry to the branch where the observations were made and the selection of the actual participants are described in Sections 7.7.3.1 and 7.7.3.2 respectively.

7.7.3.1 Gaining Organisational Access

Contact was made with the Branch Manager to discuss entry to the branch. A copy of the organisational research information sheet and respondent information sheet was

sent out. On the basis of this information I was invited to attend a branch meeting to explain the research to branch staff. In preparation for this meeting a second organisational research information sheet (see Appendix 8) with particular emphasis on Phases Two and Three was designed. This was sent to the branch prior to the meeting so that the employees had time to reflect on my requests and formulate discussion questions for the meeting. The importance of this meeting for me was threefold. First and foremost I wanted to gain their commitment to the project and thus ensure entry into the branch to carry out Phases Two and Three of the research. Second, I wanted to gain their views on the research, particularly their views and feelings about the appropriateness of observing a career counselling session and following this up with an interview. Third, I needed their input into the design of Phases Two and Three with particular reference to selecting a sample of willing clients to become participants in the research.

The process and outcomes of this meeting are worth explaining in detail. The meeting was attended by all staff at the branch and began with an overview of the research and their potential role within it. They raised many issues about the research project and suggestions for minimising risks for participants, themselves and ultimately, for my research. They willingly shared their insights into how I might proceed in this phase of the research. Their input to the research design for Phases Two and Three at this meeting was invaluable. The following issues were raised and discussed at this meeting:

1. *The suitability of observing a guidance counselling session and choosing participants.* The career consultants raised the issue of how suitable it was to observe client sessions. They pointed out some clients simply did not talk to them, and to have a third person observing would be more restrictive. However, they also believed some clients would participate willingly in the research. This issue had implications for choosing participants. It was generally agreed that I should not be present when clients were invited to participate in the research in order to reduce the risk of people feeling pressured to participate. The solution was that the consultants would approach clients prior to their guidance session to ask if

they would like to be involved in the research, if they agreed then the consultants would contact me. The consultants believed that they would know, based on their experience, whether someone agreed to participate verbally but did not want to be involved. In such a situation we thought it would be fruitful for everyone concerned for the consultant to support the person to decline to participate.

2. *Choosing a variety of situations.* We talked extensively about how the participants might be selected to reflect the differences in their client base. They noted the branch covered a wide geographic area and therefore there were significant differences in access to education, socio-economic status, and the cultural needs of clients depending on where they lived. Second, it was pointed out that the consultants had different consulting styles and preferred techniques. To gain a deeper insight into this, it was suggested that the number of situations be extended to include two with each consultant to reflect this. This would increase my first request from approximately eight situations to twelve. Finally, we discussed the need to provide a research information sheet for the consultants to give to participants to help them decide whether they would like to be involved (see Appendix Nine).
3. *Post observation interviews.* The consultants pointed out that it would be fruitful to interview them as well as the clients after the guidance session. They believed this would help me gain deeper insight into what went on in the sessions. For example, they suggested what I observed as a researcher could differ from what they observed as a consultant. We generally agreed that a follow-up interview with the consultants as well as the client would be valuable in Phase Three of the research.
4. *Outcome feedback for participants.* We discussed who would have access to the outcome of my research. I made clear my intention to publish articles and offered to provide a copy of the thesis to Career Services *rapuara* and the local branch, and also offered to provide feedback to the participants.
5. *Research as evaluation.* It was important that the employees of the branch understood and believed that research was not an evaluation of themselves, or of Career Services *rapuara*. Rather, the focus was on gaining insight into the

application of contemporary career management techniques, and as a career guidance agency their organisation provided me with the 'perfect' site to gain such an understanding.

6. *Confidentiality of Participants.* It was explained that Career Services *rapuara* would be named in the research but not the individual people interviewed (whether staff or clients of Career Services *rapuara*) or the branches that participated in the study. This was to preserve the confidentiality of all participants. It was also an issue of concern that potential client participants were made fully aware that I was not an employee of Career Services *rapuara*, the Department of Work and Income, or Accident Compensation Corporation, and that personal or identifying information would not be reported back to these government agencies.
7. *Generalisability of the research.* The issue of generalisability of the research was raised. It was explained that it was not my intention to gain a generalisable sample, hence the decision to keep the respondent numbers quite small; my interest was to explore how clients perceive career management techniques. At this point I located this phase of the research within the body of my thesis and briefly explained my analysis of the linkages between global changes, organisational and labour flexibility, and subsequent changes to jobs and hence career opportunities. This phase of the research was designed to understand the everyday micro-experiences of those who engaged in career guidance sessions with view to understanding what these sessions and the wider changes meant for the individuals involved.

The outcome of the meeting was positive and valuable for me. We collaborated in all issues relating to Phases Two and Three of the research. The initial outcome of the meeting was for the staff to talk amongst themselves to decide who might like to be involved in the research. The branch manager contacted me within the week to continue our discussion and to arrange access.

7.7.3.2 Selecting the Situations and Participants to Observe

After the meeting the Branch Manager contacted me about gaining access for the situations to observe and we discussed how many situations to observe. I believed that it would be useful to reduce the number of situations to be observed, as the main focus of this phase was to gain insight into one or a few situations and analyse them according to the theoretical framework and themes. It was agreed to reduce the number of situations to one per consultant and no more than four sessions.

In the end, only two sessions were observed with the same career consultant. This consultant contacted me with several suitable sessions to observe where the clients had agreed to participate. The clients came from different towns and the Department of Work and Income referred both to Career Services *rapuara.* The career consultations were carried out in the Department of Work and Income offices in their respective towns. Both clients received the unemployment welfare payment and their Department of Work and Income case managers arranged the sessions.

Their Career Counsellor asked the clients whether they would like to participate in this research prior to their actual session. They were informed that participation would involve i) my observing their session; ii) an interview between the client and myself immediately after the session; iii) an interview between the client and myself approximately six weeks after the session, and iv) an interview between myself and the counsellor after the session. The focus of these interviews would be the process of the session and would also include some generic questions based on my theoretical work for this thesis. Immediately before each session, the clients were given the opportunity to withdraw. Both reconfirmed that they would like to be involved in the research.

The same career counsellor conducted both sessions. One of the sessions and debrief interview with the client was taped recorded. Notes were taken in the second session, as the participant did not want to be recorded. In both sessions I remained quiet taking notes and observing the interaction between the clients and counsellor as

discretely as I could. Both of the debrief interviews with the counsellor were recorded. The observations of these sessions are described and analysed in Chapter Ten. These sessions were immediately followed by post-observation interviews with the clients and later the same day with the career counsellor.

7.7.4 Phase Three: Post-observation Interviews

The clients were interviewed immediately after their career consulting session. These interviews took approximately half an hour. One interview was conducted in the Department of Work and Income office where the session took place. The second interview was conducted out of the Department of Work and Income office. Interview guides were designed to draw on thematic points of interest to facilitate the interview and gain insight into how the participants experienced the session (see Appendix 9.2). Additional questions were asked based on the observations made during the counselling session. Of particular interest was to gain insight into how they felt about the session and how they perceived the session might be helpful to them. I intended to re-interview these clients approximately six weeks after the session to gain insight into their reflections of what had occurred in the sessions, and what they might have done as a result of the sessions. However, these interviews were not possible, as the participants could not be contacted. Both clients were offered a copy of their interview transcripts for editorial comment and a summary of the research. Both participants declined to review their transcripts and were not interested in feedback from the research.

At the end of these sessions the career consultant asked and got permission to provide me with a copy of their reports. These reports form part of the career consulting session and copies are sent to their case managers and themselves. These reports are drawn on in subsequent chapters.

The career consultant was interviewed later on in the same day of each session. An interview guide based on the themes of the research was used including questions on the perceptions of the role and work of career counsellors and how this related to the

wide socio-political changes in New Zealand (see Appendix 9.3). These interviews incorporated questions that arose from the situations observed. The first interview took approximately two-and-a-half hours, the second approximately one-and-a-half hours. These interviews were recorded and edited by the consultant participant. At the end of the second interview with the counsellor, I had gathered sufficient material to address the themes of the research inquiry. I was still interested in accessing different client bases, in particular from Accident Compensation Corporation. However, I did not receive any more invitations to observe additional situations. Thus to decision to proceed with the existing material was made for me. The following section briefly outlines the sample used in this thesis. I was unable to contact the two clients to interview them a second time. Both clients had moved town since the initial observation.

7.7.5 Overview of the Sample

The sample for this research totalled 14 participants who provided interview material for this thesis. Of the 14 participants five were senior managers (of whom three had been career consultants), three were branch managers and were still active in career counselling, three were currently career consultants, two were clients, and one was a board member. The participants from Career Services *rapuara* were drawn from four branches and the head office. However several of the participants had worked in different branches which meant that information on six of the sixteen branches was gained from the conversations and interviews. In addition to the wide geographic coverage, the participants from Career Services *rapuara* had extensive experience with career counselling a variety of the customer bases. Thus, while only two situations were observed, I gained insight into these other client groups from the consultants' perspectives. The next section discusses why I have taken the particular research focus in this thesis.

7.8 Locating the 'Self' in Research

At the outset of this thesis I intended to examine how flexibility was managed in New Zealand. As my thesis progressed, I began to appreciate that there were significant

disadvantages to employees and the wider community resulting from the changing shape and conditions of employment as developed throughout the 1980s and beyond (as discussed in Chapter Three). The emergence of globalisation throughout the 1990s exacerbated the negative outcomes associated with flexibility (as discussed in Chapter Two). The disparate outcomes associated with globalisation and flexibility of downward pressure on income, the creation of over-, under- and unemployment, and increased forms of marginalisation and peripheralisation of employment created a new structure within which 'careers' could be achieved. The contemporary career literature however, continually drew upon notions that self-change will achieve individual match between, and continued survival in, a changing employment environment that did not guarantee security or adequate incomes for basic survival needs for a growing proportion of the global community.

It was the contradictions between the advocates of globalisation, flexibility and contemporary careers, who argue that the new structure of employment will benefit everyone, and the growing statistical evidence to the contrary, that led me to investigate and make visible the links between the emerging discourses of globalisation, flexibility and contemporary career. I became uncomfortable with the functional perspective of contemporary career management and development that stated everyone has a career within the broader context described by growing gaps between rich and poor, and the disparate outcomes associated with the changing nature and shape of employment. This discomfiture led me to explore more critical interpretations of 'career' to help me understand how individuals and whole communities may be re-fabricated to accept wider socio-political and economic change even when these changes disaffected them on a personal level in terms of income and employment security.

Drawing upon the works of Foucault (1977), Rose (1989) and Deetz (1992) provided me with a critical analytical lens to interpret 'career' as an extension of the disciplinary society. These theorists collectively argue that new techniques of seduction, assimilation, and punishment are used by government to discipline or

manage citizens at a distance through the efforts of experts. Of particular interest to me was to understand how New Zealand governments have attempted to re-fabricate our understanding of what it means to have a 'career' and our role in managing such a career. These interests collectively informed my decision to research Career Services *rapaura* as an agent of the state charged with re-educating New Zealanders about the new form of career available in an increasingly turbulent employment environment. In a very short time in Career Services *rapuara,* I recognised that their primary client base was sent from the Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation. These client bases were in effect the target of government discipline to help achieve government policy of welfare-to-work. This government 'targeting' of already disenfranchised groups became my research focus as I believed it would illustrate how 'career' can be used to facilitate the re-fabrication of individual understanding of what it means to have a career and how government might employ techniques of discipline to facilitate self-change.

After my research was completed I reflected upon my own 'career' to date. I began to see comparisons between my own, and subsequently my brothers, work histories with the material presented throughout Chapters Two and Three, and indeed, our stories could be analysed using the critical lens developed in Chapter Four. These reflections are presented and analysed in Chapter 13. I believe these stories illustrate how three seemingly 'successful' individuals, in terms of maintaining employment, have been disaffected under the current socio-political and economic structure associated with globalisation and flexibility. Our career stories show that under the current structure, even those who manage to stay employed may also be negatively affected by changes to employment. The following section reviews the limitations of my research.

7.9 Limitations

Career Services *rapuara* was chosen to help illustrate how contemporary career management and development concepts, practices, and techniques might be conceived of as an extension of Rose's (1990, 1988) concepts of managing citizens at a distance through techniques and technologies of the self. The case serves the research

intention of making visible the connection between government involvement in negotiating global neo-liberalism, political and economic reform, and the creation of an apparatus to manage citizens at a distance through the engagement of career 'experts'. The particular focus has been on how the application of these techniques might be used to discipline those who have been disenfranchised by workplace and welfare changes. Thus the findings of this research provide theoretical generalisabilty about these issues. Several limitations of this research arise from the interpretative repertoire selected, the use of an instrumental case, the small sample size of organisational members, the lack of geographic coverage represented in the sample and the small number of situations observed, and from the techniques used to gather material of written, interview and observation. These limitations are discussed below.

First, the interpretative repertoire was designed to question the more functional position of contemporary career theorists. Thus the interpretative repertoire is informed by critical theory and post-modernist concerns. While alternative interpretations can be made of the material, the purpose of this research was to offer a critical reading of contemporary management and development discourse within the wider context described by global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility.

Second, the case study and focus on a government career agency does not necessarily reflect the practices of private sector career management and development agencies, or how individuals might use 'self-help' books to manage their own career. Thus it is not possible to comment on links (if any) between private sector agencies and government, or the extent that individuals might create themselves by the applying career frameworks presented in self-help books. However, the career practices of Career Services *rapuara* were consistent with the contemporary career management and development theory and practice and have created a series of individually driven career-planning guides similar to self-help books.

Third, the findings do not illustrate how career management and development techniques might be applied within an organisational context to manage employees to accept responsibility for creating their own career within a changing work environment. The material presented does not offer insight into contemporary career theorists (e.g. Greenhaus & Callanan. 1994; Hall & Associates, 1996; Kanter-Moss, 1989) suggestions that careers increasingly occur in multiple organisational sites. This research does not provide information on how people engage in creating a career across sites.

Fourth, nine participants in the study were currently (or had been) career counsellors. Their stories do not necessarily represent the range of perspectives, perceptions, values and beliefs about their work as career service providers or the role that government should have in career service provision. However, creating generalisable results is not the purpose of this thesis. Rather the intention is to contribute towards our understanding of how governments manage citizens at a distance to accept wider socio-political and economic changes. Fifth, the two observed participants were unemployed males referred to Career Services *rapuara* by the Department of Work and Income. Thus insight into how other client groups perceive career counselling has not been gained and these two representatives merely open a small view to how they perceived career counselling. The situations observed did not provide insight into what happened to the participants in relation to their career after the observed event. Thus it is not possible to comment about whether these clients engaged in any 're-fabrication' of themselves as a result of the career counselling session.

Fifth, the techniques used to gather empirical material has particular limitations. Derrida (1978) and Hodder (1994), for example noted that meaning is created not in the text but through the process of writing and reading text. The use of interviews with staff was conducted to gain an understanding of how the written material was interpreted and practised by the staff in Career Services *rapaura.* The limitations of interviews, (e.g. interviewees limiting their responses, making statements based on perceived researcher interests, as discussed in Chapter 6) was also a consideration in

this thesis. The use of an observed situation was designed to address the limitations of conducting interviews alone. The situational observation enabled insight to be gained into how the actual career guidance sessions were conducted as opposed to relying on the reflections of the participants. The limitation posed by observing two situations is noted above. Other limitations associated with observation include the possibility of researcher misunderstanding or bias of what occurred in the situation. To reduce the likelihood of researcher misunderstanding and bias, the participants in the observed situations were interviewed to gain their understanding of what occurred in the guidance session.

This chapter has presented the research design and methods used to gather the empirical material for this thesis. An analysis of the material gathered is detailed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. This analysis begins in the following chapter by describing Career Services *rapuara*.

Chapter Eight
Creating the Government-Directed Institutional Environment of Career Provision in New Zealand:
The Case of Career Services *rapuara*

8.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two it was argued that throughout the 1990s some multinational companies and nation states, including New Zealand, actively pursued globalisation. It was also argued that the economic, political, and cultural processes of globalisation are based on the philosophy of neo-liberalism. Throughout the 1990s the global redistribution of income and employment indicate that the purported benefits of globalisation are disproportionately distributed. This redistribution of income and employment has been implicated in the growing gaps between rich and poor, both within and among nations, and in changes to the nature of working conditions. Underpinning the growth of globalisation in the 1990s was the 1980s' trend by firms from diverse nations to introduce various forms of flexible labour strategies and manufacturing processes in an effort to remain competitive against international competition. Flexible labour strategies have continued to occur throughout the 1990s as indicated by constant restructuring, downsizing, redundancies, and the contradictory trends of over-, under-, and unemployment. Flexibility, globalisation, and the changes to the nature, form, and (in)security of employment are considered by contemporary career theorists to offer new and sometimes exciting possibilities for individuals who properly plan and manage themselves.

However, in Chapter Four it was argued that contemporary career discourse, theory, and practice may be conceived of as an extension of what Rose (1990) terms technologies of the self. Rose argues that governments set political agendas and then create an institutional apparatus to achieve their goals. In this process Rose placed

particular significance on the role of organisations to help governments manage individual subjectivity from a distance. Thus, it has been argued that since 1984, successive New Zealand governments have actively negotiated the conditions of globalisation based on neo-liberal principles, and have translated these negotiations into national level political, legal, and economic frameworks. These new frameworks have changed the nature and conditions of employment in New Zealand. Changes have reflected international trends of over-, under-, and unemployment, increased job insecurity, and growing gaps between rich and poor.

While successive New Zealand governments have pursued policies that have resulted in creating the environment of vulnerability for many, they have also argued that it is the responsibility of individuals to ensure that they are employable, and to take care of their personal and family well-being. This chapter will show that successive New Zealand governments have created an institutional framework to re-fabricate individuals to accept personal responsibility for creating their own career paths within the changing landscape of employment, even though changes are the manifestation of wider socio-political decisions of which individual decisions have a limited impact. The specific focus of this chapter will be to describe the creation and functions of Career Services *rapuara* within this framework. The material presented in this chapter illustrates the process that Rose (1989) described as government's creation of institutional apparatus to manage citizens from a distance, in this instance, creating an institutional apparatus around the notion of the individuals responsibility of managing the self through 'career'. The particular subjectivity defined by government, and made explicit in the documents and reports presented in this chapter is consistent with the form of individualism 'required' under neo-liberalism (as discussed in Chapters Two and extended in Chapters Three and Four). This chapter also illustrates how governments have drawn upon the notion of changing employment patterns as the impetus for individuals new understandings of employment and career, and their personal role in creating an employable self as an unproblematic and naturalised discourse. While my general argument applies to all people, the specific focus of this

thesis is on people who are welfare recipients and have been targeted for career intervention with the aim of a return to paid employment.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 8.2 reviews the 1989 Report of the Working Group on the Provision of Vocational Guidance. One outcome of this report was the creation of Career Services *rapuara* to act as a central career agency in New Zealand. The original role of Career Services *rapuara* is discussed briefly. Section 8.3 discusses the changes that were made to Career Services *rapuara* during the period 1995 to 1999 as a result of the Career Information and Guidance Review. This review was commissioned under the National Government, and resulted in significant changes to the way government-funded career services were to be offered in New Zealand. By 1999 the Labour Government was elected into office and as part of their election campaign promised to strengthen the role of Career Services *rapuara.* Section 8.4 reviews the elements of the Labour Party manifesto that relate to the provision of career services in New Zealand and discusses an interview published in 2001, with the current Minister responsible for Career Services *rapuara.* The manifesto and the interview indicate the current government's philosophy towards the provision of career services generally, and towards Career Services *rapuara* specifically. Section 8.5 describes the present role of Career Services *rapuara* including a description of the services it provides, and a summary of two reports that evaluated the effectiveness of career intervention provided by Career Services *rapuara.*

8.2 Re-shaping Careers Provision in New Zealand

During the 1980s the New Zealand economy underwent significant structural changes. One result of these changes was an increase in unemployment through redundancies. In 1989, the Report on the Working Group in the Provision of Guidance was commissioned. Part of the reason behind the report was the recognition that the structure of employment had changed and that New Zealanders might need help to adjust to these employment changes (as already discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The outcome of this report was the recommendation for and subsequent creation of

Career Services *rapuara*. This report, the Education Amendment Act 1989, and the role of Career Services *rapuara* between 1990 and 1994 are discussed in this section.

8.2.1 Report of the Working Group on the Provision of Guidance, 1989

In 1989, in response to the changes to the structure (and security) of employment, the Department of Education and the Department of Labour commissioned a working group to review "the provision of guidance within and beyond the education sector and to explore ways in which the provision may be co-ordinated and enhanced [and to] determine how best unmet vocational guidance needs might be met" (Report of the Working Group, 1989, p. 1). In this report, the working group defined vocational guidance and identified that i) the existing vocational guidance services were uncoordinated, ii) there were nine particular areas where vocational guidance needs were unmet, and iii) the practices of vocational guidance needed to change to reflect the changing employment environment. The outcome of their report was the recommendation that a new career service agency be created to enhance the career choices of New Zealanders in the changing landscape of employment. Each of these issues is briefly discussed below.

8.2.1.1 Defining Vocational Guidance

The Working Group (1989) defined the principal concern of vocational guidance as:

> enhancing the sequence of work, educational and training experiences people go through in their lifetimes. Its task is to provide comprehensive information and guidance to assist people to make decisions and plans as they move into, through and out of the workforce (p. 6).

The Working Group upheld the belief of contemporary career management and development theorists that career management had individual, societal and business benefits (as discussed in Chapter Three). These included that the outcomes of appropriate vocational guidance to clients include better focused planning for their future, the development of broader skills, increased flexibility and adaptability, and greater willingness to view their skills as transferable across employment situations and thus enable them to avoid premature focus on particular job choices. Wider community and government benefits were seen to include a better match of people to

jobs, increased education and training retention rates, a more efficient and co-ordinated guidance industry, and significant savings in "unproductive and remedial government social spending" (The Working Group, 1989, p. 6).

8.2.1.2 Existing Vocational Guidance Services in 1989

At the time of the report several groups providing vocational guidance services. The Department of Education provided support to secondary schools through the Careers Education Service. This service assisted in the training of secondary school career advisors and offered a consultancy service. However, it was noted in the report, the Careers Education Service had a staff of four, and provided out-dated information to schools. The Careers Information Service, a division of the New Zealand Employment Service, provided labour market information. Some tertiary institutions provided careers information, yet there was no comprehensive coverage throughout the tertiary sector and often the provision of careers information relied on the goodwill of institutional staff. The limited and uncoordinated vocational guidance services available in New Zealand resulted in nine areas of unmet needs, as identified by the Working Group. Effectively, the Working Group identified the lack of an 'institutional web' dedicated to enhancing the career prospects of citizens.

8.2.1.3 Areas of Unmet Needs

The nine areas of unmet needs identified included parents, primary schools, secondary schools, tertiary institutions, adults, women and girls, outreach, Maori, and community groups. The Working Group recognised that parents played an important role in determining the career paths of their children, however there was no specific assistance to help parents to do this. Further, the report noted that research indicated that children had determined their career aspirations before they reached high school. At the time, there was no specific career assistance for primary schools. Therefore the Working Group recommended that there was "urgent need to provide appropriate information and educational material to ensure such decisions are soundly based and maintain flexibility" (The Report of the Working Group, 1989, p. 7). Some provision of career advice and guidance at secondary schools was found through the Transition from School to Work programmes and through the Career Education Service. Many

schools had career advisors but they were inadequately funded and under-resourced. Funding was based on roll numbers as opposed to the needs basis of schools. Thus, it was viewed that the career arrangements within schools were inadequate to provide career guidance, or to meet the needs of young people affected by low socio-economic status. The level of career information, advice and guidance available at tertiary institutions was mixed with no co-ordinated approach between the institutions. There were no allowances made for career training of staff or any mechanisms to allow students to explore possible career paths.

Further the Working Group found that vocational services were non-existent or inadequate within the wider community. There was no vocational guidance provision for adults. The Working Group (1989) believed that it was an urgent requirement for establish vocational guidance to adults because of the "huge numbers of adults wanting or having to make work changes" (p. 8). Women and girls were viewed as requiring particular attention to broaden their vocational options to facilitate greater equitable employment outcomes. The Working Group identified the need for an outreach programme to reach people who had previously been under-represented in post-compulsory education; in particular, those living in rural areas, those needing help overcoming existing inequities, people with disabilities, and those who left school without formal qualifications. Existing vocational guidance provision was deemed inappropriate to meet the vocational needs of Maori. Finally, the Working Group found that community groups did not have access to vocational guidance services.

The nine groups identified as having unmet career needs correspond to Deetz (1992) argument (as discussed in Chapter Four) that all aspects of life become orientated towards meeting the needs of the corporate form. It was deemed that children throughout all levels of schooling and beyond to tertiary level education and their parents, disenfranchised adults, Maori and women would improve their labour market participation if they received adequate career services. Thus, the Working Group urged institutions of schools, universities, community groups, and family, and the

existing career counsellors (or 'experts') to access more effective career services in light of the changes to employment.

8.2.1.4 Changing Vocational Guidance

The Working Group recognised the environment that vocational guidance operated within had changed significantly over the past 40 years. They noted that this new environment was characterised by an "economic climate of accelerated change, unemployment, and redundancies" (The Working Group, 1989, p. 10) (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three). For individuals to be effective in this new environment, the Working Group advocated that vocational guidance needed to focus on assisting clients to become individually flexible in attitudes and skills, and to identify their "core generalisable skills and to develop learning skills" (p. 11) to facilitate future learning. The Working Group drew on the already naturalised changes to the employment environment resulting from the application of organisational and labour flexibility (as discussed in Chapter Three) to argue that individuals had to adapt by becoming flexible themselves. The Working Group does not locate the changes to employment to wider political and economic changes adopted by the Fourth Labour Government (as discussed in previous chapters) leaving all parties to 'respond' rather than investigate and challenge these changes and the limiting effect on career decisions.

The Working Group deemed that new counselling techniques and assessment methods were necessary to help solve current and future career needs of clients, and to help clients express their preferences, yet "retain flexibility and keep their options open both now and in the future" (p. 11). Within the new environment characterised by redundancy and rapid change, the Working Group, and consistent with the contemporary career management theorists discussed in Chapter Three, advocated that the adoption of a developmental model of career guidance was most appropriate. The developmental model reflects the career planning model advocated for by Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) discussed in Chapter Three, and is orientated towards exploring, planning and developing current and future career needs of clients. In contrast, a job placement career model was viewed as inadequate because this approach would not

necessarily equip individuals to learn new skills that would be needed in the changing work environment, thus reflecting the Working Groups acceptance that the described changes to employment of rapid change and insecurity would be a permanent feature of New Zealand labour market.

8.2.1.5 Creating a new Career Advisory Service

The Working Group recommended a new career advisory service be created to address existing unmet needs, to co-ordinate existing vocational guidance provision, and to provide information, advice and guidance appropriate for a changing employment environment. As part of this recommendation, the Working Group believed it was appropriate to change the name of the service. They believed that:

> 'Vocational' has connotations of a lifelong commitment to one occupation and 'guidance', in the minds of many, is associated with personal counselling for those with 'special' needs. The term 'vocational guidance' has 'a white middle-class academic image' that may not sit comfortably with many of the potential future clients (The Working Group, 1989, p. 2).

It was recommended that the new career advisory service build on and co-ordinate the existing vocational guidance provisions to educational institutions and to the wider community. The Working Group recommended that the service be based on the principles and concepts embedded in the Treaty of Waitangi, provide equitable employment practices and service provision, and empower individuals to make vocational decisions according to their perceived needs. The delivery of services needed to reflect community needs and interests, and existing and future institutional linkages (for example between schools, tertiary institutions, community groups, and government agencies) needed to be co-ordinated to ensure a seamless service provision to clients.

The functions of the career advisory agency were to include the provision of occupational and educational information, and resources to career educators, and vocational guidance to individuals and groups. The service was to consult on the planning, development, implementation, and evaluation, of career programmes, and provide education and training to people with a direct role in identifying and satisfying vocational needs. The Working Group also recommended that a careers

information database be created and maintained. The Working Group recommended that the new service be fully government-funded for the first two years. During this time, it was expected the service would develop potential revenue-generating activities to partially fund operations.

Consistent with Rose's (1989) understanding of how government can impact upon minute behaviours of individuals, the Working Group effectively recommended that an institutional apparatus be created. This apparatus was to draw upon contemporary career concepts (similar to those discussed in Chapter Three) to facilitate the re-education of New Zealanders to understand changes to employment patterns and how to re-create themselves to consistently meet those changes throughout their life. The identification of key agencies such as schools and those in the wider community as places to disseminate the new career discourse indicates that the Working Group had begun to establish the process that Deetz (1992) termed colonisation, whereby meaning giving institutions support the needs of the corporate world by providing a defined set of understandings around career. The new service was created by the Education Amendment Act 1989 as discussed in the next section.

8.2.2 The Education Amendment Act 1990: Creating the New Service

The new career advisory service was established under the Education Amendment Act 1989, Part XXII, Section 278-286 (Quest Rapuara, 1991). Initially, the service was called 'Quest Rapuara'. However, since its creation the service has had several name changes. Currently the service is called Career Services *rapuara* and for simplicity, will be referred to as such throughout the remainder of this thesis. The Education Amendment Act (1989) stated that the functions of Career Services *rapuara* were:

> 1.2 To establish and maintain a data base of information about occupations and about post-compulsory education and training:
> 1.3 To make that information available to the public and to institutions, private training establishments, students, and other interested bodies and persons:
> 1.4 To provide –
> 1.4.1 Training and assistance to persons who advise about occupations; and
> 1.4.1 Career advice and associated counselling relating to post-compulsory education and training:

> 1.5 To liase with, and monitor the needs of, institutions, private training establishments, students and other bodies and persons with respect to –
>
> 1.5.1 Information, training and advice in relation to occupations; and
>
> 1.5.2 Career advice and associated counselling relating to post-compulsory education and training;
>
> 1.6 To provide support services for the purpose of promoting transition education that prepares students for employment, or further education and training, or both. (as cited in Quest Rapuara, 1991, p. 38).

Career Services *rapuara* was created as a Crown Entity by amalgamating the Vocational Guidance Service and the career information functions of the Department of Labour and the Transition Education Division of the Department of Education (Oakes & von Dadelszen, 1999). Crown Entities are defined in the State Sector Act 1988 as "public sector organisations that are not public service departments or State-owned enterprises" (Treasury, 2002, p.1). Career Services *rapuara* began operations in June 1990 with an initial budget of $17 million of direct government funding. Initially government was to fully fund Career Services *rapuara* for the first two years and in that time Career Services *rapuara* was expected to develop 'cost recovery' mechanisms to offset government funding. Government purchased particular career services from Career Services *rapuara.* These purchases included careers information, targeted career counselling services, training of career-education advisors, consultancy services to schools in the use of career information, and policy advice to the Ministry of Education (Oakes & von Dadelszen, 1999). Career services were provided to schools, tertiary institutions, training providers, the District Advisory Committee on Training Education, community groups, individuals, iwi (local Maori groups), and industry partners (Quest Rapuara, 1991). Later Career Services *rapuara* was to become responsible for establishing a career information database (CIG Review, 1995).

The outcome of the Education Act in terms of creating and identifying the purposes of Career Services *rapuara* indicates support for Rose's contention that governments' create organisations to help manage citizens at a distance. The identification of key institutions as requiring training in the provision of career services (e.g. careers education, information, advice and guidance) also begins to support Deetz's argument

associated with the colonisation of the life world. Thus, through Career Services *rapuara* career service activities within non-work institutions, the corporate need for individuals to understand changes to employment and their role to maintain employable skills is supported. By the end of 1990, and consistent with National Government policy of the time (as discussed in Chapter Two), Career Services rapuara was reviewed with the purpose of rationalising the service (Quest Rapuara, 1991).

8.2.3 Rationalising Career Services *rapuara*: The 1990 and 1991 Reviews

Following the Cabinet Expenditure Control Committee's decision in December 1990, and consistent with the neo-liberal philosophy informing government at the time of a withdrawal of state funding (as discussed in Chapter two), direct funding was reduced to Career Services *rapuara* in the 1990/1991 budget by 22%, and a further 16% in the 1991/1992 financial year (Quest Rapuara, 1991). Thus, within 18 months of start up and contradicting initial policy, direct government funding decreased from $17 million to $5 million (Oakes & von Dadelszen, 1999). The impact of government rationalisation resulted in staff redundancies, the refocusing of career service provision, and the closure of two branches. Career Services *rapuara* focused on producing and disseminating career information, local provision of career advice and information, and training support to schools (CIG Review, 1995). There was less focus on consultancy and advisory services to clients and schools.

Career Services *rapuara* began a programme of partial cost recovery to increase income and to help maintain a national presence. License fees were charged for access to the Career Information Library and the Quest database. This resulted in 50% of existing clients not purchasing careers information due to their own budgetary constraints. This led to further staff reductions in Career Services *rapuara* (CIG Review, 1995).

Career Services *rapuara* also began creating 'third party' relationships, significantly with New Zealand Employment Service and the Accident Compensation Corporation

(discussed in Section 8.5 in more detail), accounting for $NZ1.7 million in the two financial periods of 1992/1993 and 1993/1994 (CIG Review 1995). These contracts provided revenue that helped meet the shortfall between operating expenditure and government funding.

Between 1991 and 1995 Career Services *rapuara* developed its services in line with government requirements as set in the 1990 and 1991 reviews. By 1994/1995, the specific services offered included:

- The Quest data base – a data base that provides limited information on career and training options;
- The Career Information Library – a series of paper based information sources including information on specific jobs and associated resource material;
- Training of newly appointed career advisors;
- Career staff updating programmes;
- Promoting and facilitating school-enterprise links;
- Personal career guidance services; and
- Disbursing of the LINK funding (4 & 2.67m in 1994/95); which is aimed at promoting effective transition of students from school into employment related training (CIG Report, 1995, p. 15).

Career Services *rapuara* continued to provide career-counselling services to clients who were referred to them by third party contractual arrangements (CIG Report, 1995). The changes to the funding arrangements and the subsequent rationalisation of Career Services *rapuara* is an example of neo-liberal philosophy of user pays systems and hence, the state withdrawal in the direct provision of services (as discussed in Chapter Two). Career services were re-defined as a private good, and those individuals who required such services ought to purchase them for themselves.

The user-pay philosophy towards career service provision was re-addressed as a result of registered unemployment rising from 149,200 in 1990 to 217,100 in 1993, an increase of 45% increase. In February 1994 the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment was convened. In 1995, the National Government commissioned the Career Information and Guidance Review. This review was to identify career provision within New Zealand and to make proposals to ensure that the government funding of these services was efficient and met the career needs of New Zealanders.

This review and the implications to Career Services *rapuara* are discussed in detail in the following section.

8.3 The CIG Report, 1995: Changing Career Services *rapuara*

The focus of the Prime Ministerial Task Force of 1994 was to "develop a comprehensive set of proposals that would ensure every New Zealander has the opportunity to be in paid work" (Narbey, 1997, p. 2). The Task Force made a number of recommendations that were relevant to career information and guidance within New Zealand. Of these recommendations eight were applicable to Career Services *rapuara*. These included:

> (Rec 44) Schools must have a greater focus on their pupil's employment outcomes;
> (Rec 50) Evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of the current provision of careers advice and information at the school level;
> (Rec 51) Ensure the provision of one to one careers advice and guidance to students who have traditionally chosen a narrow range of subject options or who are likely to leave school early with low skill levels;
> (Rec 52) Develop and implement specific strategies by the end of 1995, aimed at boosting the number of Maori careers advisors in schools;
> (Rec 53) Undertake research to identify the critical points at which Maori youth make subject and career choices;
> (Rec 54) Evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of the current provision of careers advice and information provided beyond school;
> (Rec 55) Encourage links between schools and outside agencies and groups who are able to provide job search assistance;
> (Rec 81) Evaluate the ability of the current government funded information systems to provide high quality information on the range of options under the national Qualifications Framework (Report of the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment, 1994, as cited in Narbey, 1997 and The CIG Report, 1995, p. 10).

These eight recommendations indicate that despite the structural changes in the labour market resulting in unemployment, downward pressure on incomes and reduced welfare entitlements (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three), the government continued to advocate that New Zealanders provide for themselves through engagement in paid employment. As a result of these eight recommendations The Career Information and Guidance Review Panel (CIG Review Panel) was convened in December 1994, less than one month after the release of the Task Force report (Narbey, 1997). This review was to assess and report upon the level and effectiveness

of career services available to New Zealanders, and to recommend how career services could best be co-ordinated to achieve government employment and education and training goals in a cost effective way (The CIG Report, 1995).

The National Government continued to recognised that the New Zealand employment environment had changed from permanent, secure full-time employment to include increased "part-time work; casual work; work at irregular hours or on-call; seasonal; temporary or fixed term contracts; self-employment or fixed term contract work; and/or homework" (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment, 1994, p. 35). There was however, no mention of the effect government policy on enabling such structural change, particularly in the form of the Employment Contracts Act 1991. In addition to acknowledging the changing patterns of employment, the CIG Review Panel projected these patterns into the future and thus requiring individuals to reshape themselves to match the new requirements set within the structure of employment, supporting the theme of individualism embedded in the discourses of global neo-liberal, flexibility and career. Thus, the CIG Review Panel (1995) acknowledged that individuals:

> can no longer expect to remain in one job or career path throughout their life. The future employment market is likely to provide the worker with more flexible work hours and locations. People will change careers several times in their working lives. Rapid developments in technology will also require people to retrain and upgrade their skills which will encourage a process of lifelong learning (p. 22).

Significant changes and reforms were also made to education and training provision throughout this period. These changes meant that there were a wider variety of learning options available to New Zealanders. These changes were envisioned to better prepare individuals with appropriate skills to successfully participate in the changing employment arena. The CIG Review Panel held that within this environment individuals required new skills to make more flexible short- and long-term career decisions, and that career services played a vital role in assisting individuals through this process. They also echoed the concern of contemporary career theorists (as discussed in Chapter Three) when they argued that for Government

to achieve the educational and labour market goals, they had a "core interest in the individual becoming self-steering in the labour market" (CIG Review, 1995, p. 25).

For the purposes of the CIG review and consistent with the developing contemporary career management and development discourse, the panel defined key components of career services including career education, career guidance, career counselling, and career information. Career education targeted school-aged children and included the "development of skills, attitudes and understanding through planned programmes of learning and experiences which assists students to make informed decisions about school and post-school options and directions and enable effective participation in working life" (CIG Report, 1995, p. 13). The aim of career education was to assist students to develop knowledge and understanding of themselves, post-school education options, and employment opportunities, and to learn how to make and implement considered choices in their post-school lives.

Career guidance was defined as a "systematic programme of processes and techniques" (CIG, 1995, p. 13), which focuses on helping individuals make realistic choices with regard to employment opportunity and life decisions. Career counselling was targeted at individuals who required assistance through the process of making realistic life decisions with regard to education, training and employment options. Career information included all relevant information required to make informed educational and employment choices. Such information included job descriptions, employment market trends, pay scales, educational or training requirements and associated costs for particular jobs.

The CIG Review Panel believed that a co-ordinated career service framework could improve the career opportunities of groups with traditionally narrow ranges of employment participation, such as women, Maori, and Pacific Island people. They argued that this would be achieved because:

> The core functions of career services relate to counselling individuals about their own capabilities and needs, guiding them in developing realistic career plans and providing neutral information to them. These three aspects can be drawn together in a developmental model of career services which can be

> defined as the process of the individual becoming 'self-steering'. A self-steering individual is distinguished by being able to make realistic career decisions which take into account both short and long term considerations. Within this model individuals are seen to move through the following stages:
> i) gaining self knowledge reflected against who they are as individuals in the wider society (counselling may be involved);
> ii) developing an understanding of what is available in educational and career terms (where guidance may be involved);
> iii) using available information in pursuit of a chosen career/work path (where using publicly provided information may be involved);
> iv) obtaining a suitable job or training position;
> v) using skills developed in a process of retraining in response to the individual maturation process or changes of employment direction (p. 23).

The first stage of gaining self-knowledge illustrates aspects of Foucault's discussion of the Panoptic Prison. In this prison, individuals 'gain self knowledge' in some instances through the aid of counselling. It is implied that surveillance is used to gain this knowledge, and normalising judgements used to ascertain who this 'self' is in relation to wider society. Stages three, four and five may be read as instantiation of Rose's discussion of the techniques of the self, whereby individuals are to match their diagnosed self to appropriate career, and where needed change the self through retraining to new employment directions (as discussed in Chapter Three).

The CIG Review Panel diagrammatically illustrated the linkages between government agencies providing career services in 1995 (as presented in Appendix 10). The Review Panel proposed that the institutional relationships and the career services they provided were inefficient and did not meet the career needs of New Zealanders. They held that individuals, as well as government, had an important role in career management in light of the new employment and educational environment. The Panel (1995) stated that the:

> ultimate aim is for individuals to be self-steering in their personal development and in the world of work. Some people will reach that goal relatively early in life with little need for special assistance. Others, at various stages, in moving into or making changes within the world of work, will need assistance at differing levels. The goal is to ensure that individuals are adequately prepared and therefore able to take responsibility for making their own personal and life choices (p. 23).

They advocated that when individuals have an understanding of the labour market, they may make better choices potentially leading to improved "career prospects, wider job choice, higher earnings, and greater personal well-being" (CIG, 1995, p. 25). However, they acknowledged some individuals might lack the ability to obtain career information and guidance for themselves. Thus, they argued that government had a pivotal role in ensuring continued provision of career services to achieve their economic and educational goals. Of particular interest was the perceived link between inappropriate or inadequate career service provision, market failure and subsequent social and economic costs to government. These costs were thought to include an inability to develop the highly educated workforce deemed necessary in the changing work environment; the perpetuation of disadvantage and the associated cost to taxpayers and the social costs to disadvantaged individuals; and poor educational and training decisions made by individuals thus wasting government investment.

To avoid the costs associated with poor career provision and planning, the CIG Panel recommended that government intervene in the provision of career services by providing career education to school students through the education sector, providing career information to all New Zealanders through a central agency, and providing career guidance to targeted groups through the Department of Social Welfare and New Zealand Employment Service. The groups that were considered to need targeted assistance included Maori, Pacific Island peoples, those living in rural areas, those unemployed for 13 weeks or more, and beneficiaries who had been targeted for return-to-work schemes. Thus in Rose's terms, and in terms of obtaining and maintaining employment, these groups were deemed 'different' and requiring intervention or 'discipline' through the provision of career services.

In 1995, the Career Information and Guidance Officials Group was established to implement the recommendations made in the CIG report. Members to this group included representatives from the Ministry of Education, Department of Labour, Ministry of Youth Affairs, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Te Puni Kokiri, Career Services *rapuara*, Income Support Services and Treasury (Narbey, 1997). These

officials authored a series of Ministerial papers (numbered ETE(95) 121 through 127) submitted to the Cabinet Committee on Education, Training and Employment on how the CIG Report recommendations might be implemented. Narbey (1997) summarises the key issues of these scripts for career service provision in New Zealand as follows:

- The separation of career information assembly and provision from the provision of career guidance and counselling;
- The long term intent was to purchase the latter form private providers with a separate Internal Business Unit (IBU) within Career Services [*rapuara*] to serve as an interim transition measure.
- Government should provide career information free to all [ETE(95) 121]
- Enhanced (mandatory) delivery of career services to schools would be provided [ETE(95)124] (1997, p. 5).

As a result of these papers it was recommended that a central agency be established to develop and distribute careers information, and that career guidance and counselling be administered by agencies and providers with close links to specific users (Narbey, 1997). Thus, schools were to become responsible for providing career education to students, while The New Zealand Employment Service, the Department of Social Welfare and the Accident Compensation and Rehabilitation Corporation were to provide targeted career counselling and advice to the unemployed, beneficiaries, and accident insurance claimants respectively. The purpose of career advice and counselling was to help these groups to make better career decisions and thus move them back into paid employment. Career guidance was deemed to be a private good and it was proposed that eventually it would be purchased from private sector providers. These recommendations meant that Career Services *rapuara* was to be restructured over three years.

The first phase of restructuring began in December 1995 with the establishment of Internal Business Units (IBUs), the creation of a small corporate office and the Careers Information and Research Unit (CIRU). Phase One of the restructure was implemented in July 1996 (Career Services *rapuara*, 1997a). The IBUs were initially set up as an interim measure to provide career-counselling services on behalf of the New Zealand Employment Service, Income Support Service and Accident Compensation Corporation. As part of the creation of the IBUs it was deemed

necessary to create a cultural change from being a government service provider to one of operating in a market economy (McNann, 1996; Narbey, 1997). To this end the newly created IBUs became accountable for providing financial statements, personnel management, marketing, and business creation.

The purpose of the CIRU was to provide well-researched careers information and advice to New Zealanders. The purpose of the corporate office was to provide policy advice to government and ensure the remainder of Career Services *rapuara* fulfilled Ministry of Education contractual obligations. The financing of the CIRU and the Corporate Office would be through Direct Government Purchase agreements. Between June 1995 and June 1996, staff numbers were reduced from 141 to 89, with 36% of staff made redundant (Narbey, 1997).

Phase Two of restructuring was to enable government to exit from guidance and counselling provision by selling or franchising the IBUs as going concerns. *This continued to reflect government policy of that time that at least career guidance was deemed a private good and should be purchased by the end user.* At the time of this research the structure of Career Services *rapuara* remains similar to that designed as a result of the CIG review. There are 16 IBUs around the country (presently, these are termed Career Branches), and the CIRU and Corporate Office are located in Wellington. Each IBU has a manager, an administrator and four to five consultants. Currently the IBUs are called Career Branches, but still operate as independent entities. Most of the Career Branch managers divide their time equally between managerial roles and service delivery roles. The Corporate Office provides marketing, finance, policy and advice and human resource management functions, negotiates directly with the Minister of Education and houses the Manager of Te Pouarahi (the manger dedicated to ensuring the interests of Maori staff and clients are met). The current organisational structure of Career Services *rapuara* is diagrammatically presented in Appendix 11. Phase Two of the restructuring was never completed.

The recommendations and outcomes of the CIG Report indicate that on the one hand, the government's attempt to create an institutional apparatus around the provision of career services had been successfully implemented. On the other hand, the CIG Review panel argued for the strengthening of this institutional apparatus as opposed to the disbanding of it to better meet government education, welfare and employment policies. Further, the CIG Report continued to uphold the themes of changing employment, increased individual responsibility, and the belief that proper and individualised career-planning could facilitate the achievement of improved employment outcomes and hence reduced government spending on welfare provision.

In 1999, the Labour Government was elected into office. As part of the election campaign, the Labour Party promised to review the provision of career services to New Zealanders. Much of the current Labour Government policy is based on their 1999 Election manifesto. This manifesto is briefly described in the following section.

8.4 The Labour Party Manifesto, 1999

As noted in Chapter Two, the current Labour Government election campaign focused on offering a Third Way to political and economic management within New Zealand. The Labour Party promised greater social spending on health and education, to re-distribute wealth more equitably, and to focus on creating employment. Embedded throughout the Labour Party Manifesto (Labour on the Economy, 1999; Labour's Training Policy) are references to New Zealand being a part of a global economy characterised by international competition and trade, and the need for New Zealanders to create a knowledge economy in order to prosper in this environment. The expressed goals of the current Labour Government include:

- Strengthening national identity and upholding the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi;
- Growing an inclusive, innovative economy for all;
- Restoring trust in government and providing strong social services;
- Improving New Zealanders' skills;
- Closing the achievement/participation gaps for Maori and Pacific peoples in health, education, employment and housing;
- Protecting and enhancing the environment (Oakes, von Dadelszen & Barker, 2001, p. 7).

Within this framework, the Labour Party argued that for New Zealand to prosper, we needed collectively to improve our skill base, and to make smoother transitions between education, training and employment of youth, and current and future workers (Labour's Training Policy, 1999). Labour proposed that career services had a role in making these transitions. As such, the Labour Party proposed to strengthen the role of career planning and advice to "ensure that New Zealanders have access to information and advice which will assist them to plan their learning and employment careers" (Labour's Training Policy, 1999, p. 2). Thus the Labour Party proposed to

> Expand the Career Services into a Learning and Careers Service, and require it to provide a neutral careers information service to schools, job seekers and employers;
> Require schools to provide comprehensive learning and career planning and advisory services starting with course planning in year 10 (Form 4) and individual career/future focus interviews with all students in Year 11 (form 5), to develop agreed career and training paths for students. Planning will be then followed up in Years 12 and 13;
> Require all tertiary institutions to have charter statements and corporate plans setting out their commitment to the provision of career planning and advice available to students;
> Review the effectiveness of careers advice for Maori, Pacific Islands and women students;
> Work towards the objective of schools having a career plan for each of their students when they leave school.
> School-Business Partnerships (Labour's Training Policy, 1999, p. 3).

With the election of the Labour Government in 1999, the role of Career Services *rapuara* was also reviewed. The Labour Government viewed the provision of career services as a public good, which has resulted in Career Services *rapuara* being retained as a Crown Entity. Thus, the current Labour Government has not entered Phase Two of the CIG Report recommendations of privatising the newly developed IBUs, and in contrast, has increased funding to the agency. The Labour Government's rationale for providing career services was explained more fully by the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary), Steve Maharey, in an interview published in *Career Edge* (2001). Aspects of this interview are presented in the next section.

8.4.1 An interview with the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary)

Currently Maharey is the minister responsible for Career Services *rapuara*. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to interview Mr Maharey for this research. However

Maharey's recent interview published in *Career Edge* (2001) covered many themes relevant to this research. Maharey (2001) acknowledged that notions of stable careers and jobs-for-life have been replaced by unstable career patterns and job movement throughout a person's life. He affirmed that within this employment environment the Labour Government believed that career planning, impartial information, advice and guidance were "fundamental to the economy", were regarded as "core infrastructure to a dynamic economy and society" and are part of the Labour Government's "public commitment" (*Career Edge,* 2001, p. 2). The Minister believed that the key components of a careers infrastructure included career education in schools, tertiary education, Career Services *rapuara*, and career practitioners.

The Minister viewed the current level of career education within schools as limited and stated that there needed to be greater emphasis on career education within schools. He suggested that schools needed to broaden the focus of simply preparing students for the world of work and that "good information and good advice about your future life is about all sorts of things – family life, community life – and we need to get that post-school world closer and get it into the school" (p. 3). Maharey argued that the philosophy within schools needed to be changed to help align education with the post-school lives of pupils, to "ensure young people and their teachers are thinking about the issues and young people are lining themselves up properly for what lies ahead" (p. 3). Thus he argued that we:

> need to encourage young people to see that life is about keeping their options open, not closing them, and therefore they need to be very informed and good at making decisions about a lifelong career. The challenge is to empower young people, it's not just a case of saying 'here's a few pamphlets'.
>
> I think it's an area where a lot of schools need to raise their game. Schools do get funding for it now. They would say, probably quite rightly, that they are under a lot of pressure and have tended to use it in a variety of ways. I think we have to the guideline on career advice right and we have to get the funding committed to driving the guideline (*Career Edge,* 2001, p. 3).

He believed that successful career education would enable students to make better post-school career choices that met their own career needs instead of making default choices because they "can't think of what else to do" (*Career Edge*, 2001, p. 4).

Maharey views that Career Services *rapuara* has a central role in the Government's policy on career service provision. He acknowledged that under the National Government, career advice and guidance was viewed as a private good that individuals should purchase themselves. However, the Labour Government viewed career information, advice and guidance as a public good and as such they intended to expand the role of Career Services *rapuara* to include a more active role in policy making, greater contribution to careers education within schools, and in the provision of information, advice and guidance to the wider community.

Maharey also believed career practitioners within society needed a higher profile and also needed to contribute to government policy making. New Zealanders needed to review the role of career experts in society. He suggests that it is:

> not just a luxury to have good career information. We need to convince people about the fact that the world is going to be highly demanding and that you need to be informed about this, you need expert advice.
>
> We shouldn't take our future for granted, we shouldn't make a decision about the future direction of our life without basing that decision on good information. If you're a student, for example, trying to decide which institution you should go to, most of your information is coming from institutions themselves in what's become a competitive market. A lot of it is branding information.... In the end students wake up to the fact they need a degree that will equip them for future life (*Career Edge,* 2001, p. 3).

Thus, this government upholds the belief that the world of work is changing and that stable careers and jobs-for-life are features of the past, and that within this environment good career information, advice and guidance is important to economic and social well-being. To this end they are committed to providing career services to help citizens make career decisions that will enable them to plan for the uncertainties of the future. The government has identified Career Services *rapuara* as an integral agency to achieving key government goals in the provision of career services.

The Labour Party manifesto and the interview with Maharey indicate that the Labour Government is again strengthening the institutional apparatus around career service provision. Maharey's statements with regard to making Career Services rapuara central to the core infrastructure and 'convincing people' that the world is changing

through the use of 'expert advice' is also reminiscent of Rose's argument that governments manage citizens at a distance through the creation of organisations and through the use of expertise. The next section reviews the government goals and the current role of Career Services *rapuara* in achieving them.

8.5 Career Services *rapuara*

Since the creation of Career Services *rapuara*, the agency has been responsible for assisting government to achieve education, training and labour market goals (Oakes & von Dadelszen, 1999). Oakes, von Dadelszen and Barker (2001) summarised the desired policy outcomes of successive ministerial reports from career planning and development for individuals as including:

- A good match achieved between the interests and skill strengths of an individual and their future career path;
- A good understanding of the post-compulsory education system, the labour market, the connections between education and training, and career options;
- A good understanding of the increased importance of changes on career during an individual's lifetime and the implications for education and training preparation (2001, p. 6-7).

Some of the expressed goals of the current government of which Career Services *rapuara* is currently involved in achieving include:

- Ensuring that New Zealand has a more highly educated and skilled population, and the information and communication technologies to realise New Zealand's potential for innovation;
- Building a knowledge economy and society by lifting New Zealand's human capability, through increased capacity and opportunities, and more effective matching of capacity and opportunity;
- Restoring trust in Government;
- Reducing social and economic disparities within New Zealand economy and society, targeting policies where disparities are concentrated, developing capacity for meaningful partnerships and ensuring the greatest responsiveness on the part of government; ...
- Exploring and trialing innovative methods of securing positive educational and labour market outcomes (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001b, p. 6).

Career Services *rapuara* (2000a) accept that effective individual career management and planning based on good information, advice and guidance can facilitate the achievement of these stated government goals. They also advocate that career

management is good for the economy and the well-being of individuals, and benefits employers and society (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001b). Career Services *rapuara*, (2001b) argue that good career information, advice and guidance enable people to maximise their potential:

> by regularly reviewing their career decisions based on information about changing labour market conditions and an understanding of their own transferable skill base. These decisions result in the best match of their skills, abilities and interests in the changing workplace. This leads to:
> - Maximum value for Government investment in tertiary education;
> - Maximum use of workplace capability;
> - Higher levels of job satisfaction;
> - Higher productivity;
> - Lower turnover;
> - Less absenteeism;
> - Individuals being able to adjust to and work within a flexible labour market (p. 7).

Career Services *rapuara* (2000a) acknowledges that changes within the New Zealand education and employment environment have contributed to the increased importance of, and need for New Zealanders to better plan for their future lives. These changes include:

- Increased investment by the New Zealand Government and New Zealanders in education and training.
- Increased labour market flexibility.
- Increased need for people to learn and upskill throughout their working lives to remain effective in the world of work.
- Jobs and careers are changing swiftly through the globalisation of economies and increased use of communication technologies.

In this environment, Careers Services *rapuara* (2000a) argues that proper career planning, information, advice and guidance contribute to a number of government goals and can help people to "plan and make decisions, which enable them to engage in a lifetime of personally productive work" (p. 3). This view is supported by the current government. The government currently funds Career Services *rapuara* through the Ministry of Education to provide information, advice and targeted guidance to New Zealanders, policy information to government, and career information for students, parents and teachers. There is a particular focus on

improving the social and economic participation of Maori and Pacific Island people through targeted career service provision. Career Services *rapuara* also has contracts with the Accident Compensation Corporation and the Department of Work and Income to provide career services to their clients. The Department of Work and Income was created in 2000 and was previously called Work and Income New Zealand. Work and Income New Zealand was created in 1999 through the amalgamation of the New Zealand Employment Service and the Department of Social Welfare. The New Zealand Employment Service was the government department responsible for assisting job seekers find employment. Registration with New Zealand Employment Service was a requirement to gain unemployment benefits. The Department of Social Welfare was responsible for benefit payments to New Zealand beneficiaries, including the unemployed and those on single parent benefits (the Domestic Purpose Benefit). Currently the Department of Work and Income is responsible for work placement and benefit payments.

Career Services *rapuara* also offer career services to individual fee-paying clients and business organisations. Since Career Services *rapuara* was created in 1990, the organisation has developed a variety of products and services to provide information, advice, and guidance to meet the expectations of the Ministry and its contractual obligations with third parties. These products and services and associated targeted groups are discussed below.

8.5.1 In the Provision of Information and Advice

Career information and advice is considered a public good in New Zealand and is provided through government funding (Oakes et al., 2001). Career information includes all relevant information about jobs that enables a person to make a career decision; for example, labour market information, job descriptions, personal specifications, educational requirements, and pay rates. Advice is information provided by a Career Services *rapuara* staff member and is limited to 15 minutes contact time per client (Oakes et al., 2001). After 15 minutes client contact is considered a 'guidance' session. Advice is also provided to school students, teachers

and parents. In 2000, 44,500 clients were assisted directly with advice and information. In 2001, 377,758 people received advice or information from Career Branches, *KiwiCareer* or *CareerPoint* (as discussed below). A variety of products and services has been developed since 1990 to provide information and advice. Some of these products are freely available to New Zealanders as a result of direct government funding, while others are sold to various customer groups. These products and services are described briefly below.

8.5.1.1 KiwiCareers

KiwiCareers provides career information via the Internet and is freely available 24 hours a day. The website was developed as a result of the CIG report and came on-line in July 1998 (Oakes et al., 1999). The *KiwiCareers* Web site has more than 700 general job outlines. Each job outline includes necessary skills, entry requirements, salary ranges, interviews with New Zealanders performing the job, regional labour market overviews, statistical information with respect to the number of people employed in the job, the geographic concentration of the job, gender breakdown, and average hours worked. *KiwiCareers* also provides more than 5,000 links to career-related Web sites, including tertiary education providers, vacancy Web sites, the Department of Work and Income, and career resource centres. Career Services *rapuara* are in the process of translating all Web pages into *Te Reo* (the language of Maori, New Zealand's indigenous people).

By June 2000, traffic to *KiwiCareers* had increased to approximately four million hits from all countries including 1.4 million hits from within New Zealand (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). The primary reasons for access appear to be for occupational and training information and job vacancy leads. Analysis of hits indicate user interest in the occupational categories of tourism, travel, hospitality and personal services, computer technology, primary industries, education and health, art and design, and law, order and defence (Career Services, 2001a; Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). Less interest is shown in science, technology (excluding the computer industry), engineering, and construction and building industries, the very skills identified as needed in a knowledge economy (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

Interviews with staff for this research indicate that *KiwiCareers* has gained international recognition from government agencies and countries interested in creating similar Web-based information packages. Interest has come from countries as diverse as Ireland, Australia and the United States of America. Career Services *rapuara* has also produced CD-ROM versions of *KiwiCareers* that are sold to schools and other interested groups. This interest indicates that Career Services rapuara are internationally regarded as experts in the creation and dissemination of careers information. As a result of the success of the Web site, the Careers Information Library and the Quest Database (which described jobs and courses within New Zealand) were discontinued in 1999 (Career Services *rapuara*, 1999a).

8.5.1.2 CareerQuest

CareerQuest, a self-help computer programme designed to facilitate the identification of career options, is currently used in schools. Users fill in a questionnaire about interests, skills, and school subjects. The computer programme analyses the responses and lists possible career options. The programme focuses on attempting to match the interests and skills of the user with possible career options. This programme also facilitates researching job choices and making career plans. This product has recently received funding to be updated in 2002 (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a) and may be purchased in CD ROM version through Career Services *rapuara* for an initial outlay of $990 and $594 for upgrades (*KiwiCareers,* 2002).

8.5.1.3 Paper-Based Information

Career Services *rapuara* also produces a variety of paper-based products for purchase (*KiwiCareers,* 2002). *Courses Galore* is a reference book of the training and educational programmes available in New Zealand, including contact details of institutions. *Jobs Galore* is a reference book outlining nearly 700 occupations, with job descriptions, task requirements, educational requirements, and salary ranges. The *Top 120 Job Pack* is a paper resource designed for use in schools. The package includes all information that can be obtained from *KiwiCareers* about the 120 most visited jobs on the *KiwiCareers* Web site and personal profiles of job incumbents. *Next 120 Jobs Pack* lists the next 120 most visited jobs on the *KiwiCareers* web site.

The series *Career Plan-it Workbooks* is designed to help school students plan their careers. There are three versions: Plan-it Senior (1997) for years 11-13 (approximate ages of 16 to 18 years), Plan-it Secondary (1997) for years 9-11 (approximate ages from 13 to 15 years), and Plan-it Intermediate (1999) for years 7-9 (approximate ages from 11 to 12 years). These workbooks help students through the process of career planning. The workbooks begin with exercises in self-exploration of interests, values, identifying transferable skills and key career influences in their lives. Interests, skills, and values are then linked to possible career or job options. The third section focuses on creating a career plan that might help students to achieve certain job outcomes. The career planning phase addresses what steps would be required to make the entry-level criteria for particular job options; for example, what school subjects would be needed, what training and educational institutions to go to, and reviewing possible sources of finance to achieve career goals. The workbooks guide students through the process of preparing an action plan to achieve their career options. These packs are a commercial product and can be purchased directly from Career Services *rapuara.* These workbooks also form the basis of career workshops in schools and can be purchased by schools. Current cost per book is $NZ5.40.

8.5.1.4 CareerPoint

CareerPoint is a free-phone careers information service (*KiwiCareers*, 2001a). Callers are answered by a person trained in fielding initial career-related questions, providing post-out resources, or suggesting another level of contact. Career advisors can answer questions about career information, job descriptions, course information, training options, occupational details, and labour market information. CareerPoint was established in 1999 to enable more New Zealanders to gain access to information and advice. Career Services *rapuara* funded the pilot scheme from internal resources. The success of the pilot has led the current government to increase funding by $4 million over four years to continue the service (*Career Edge*, 2001*)*. Career advisors have access to *KiwiCareers* when dealing with phone clients and can post out relevant information to clients. In the year ended June 2001, eighteen thousand New Zealanders had rung *CareerPoint* (Career Services, 2001a).

The information created for the provision of career advice via the Internet, paper products and printed material may be viewed as an outcome of the panoptic technique (Foucault, 1977) of surveillance (as discussed in Chapter Four) applied to the employment market as well as from individuals performing particular jobs. This information has been collected and collated and turned into a coded 'property' in the form of a 'job'. The behaviours, activities, attitudes, abilities and aptitudes deemed necessary to perform those jobs become normalised as the standards required. This produced information may be used by individuals to make normalising judgments about themselves in relation to what type of training or employment options they think is suitable for the self. Yet, this information is produced to achieve certain outcomes in relation to what employers expect from prospective employees. Thus individuals may measure the self in terms of their 'distance' to these produced norms'.

Similarly, the CareerQuest and the CareerPlan-it Workbooks resembles the function of the self-help books described by Garsten and Grey (1997) as discussed in Chapter Four. Like the self-help books, these products provide a series of well defined steps to follow to facilitate the self-diagnosis and subsequent self-management of one's own career. There is an underlying assumption that those who do follow the steps are able to change themselves to meet the pre-defined notion of career that has been established to fit the desire of workplaces for flexible and appropriate skilled workers. These products may be viewed in a similar way as Gartsen and Grey view self-help books, that of a self-directed exercise in normalisation.

As well as these information and advice products and services, Career Services *rapuara* is funded to provide career guidance to targeted New Zealanders. The provision of guidance is briefly discussed below.

8.5.2 In the Provision of Guidance

Career Services *rapuara* has received government funding to provide targeted career guidance through the Career Branch system. The groups targeted for free guidance

have changed slightly over time. Currently there are four categories that are used to identify eligibility for free career guidance sessions. These categories include:

> 1. At Risk Youths
> Having left school up to the age of 24 years
> At risk of gaining no qualifications and having no plan of action for the future
> 2. Recent Migrants and Refugees
> Lived in New Zealand for up to five years
> 3. Those employed in 'at risk' industries or occupations
> Possible redundancies, industry/occupation downturn
> 4. General
> Long term unemployed
> Low qualifications – 2 School Certificate subjects or less
> Displaced workers
> Returning to work after an extended period out of the workforce
> Low income earners – with a Community Services Card as indicator
> Older workers who are 'under-employed'
> People with disabilities who need to adapt to new work opportunities
> Those who have experienced major life crises and need to re-establish their careers (Career Services *rapuara* Branch Flyer, 2001, p.1)

The aim of career guidance sessions is to help clients produce a career plan. In the year ended June 2001, 1,125 people had constructed a career action plan. Typical sessions involve assessing the current career situation and planning requirements; identifying clients interests, values, personality and skills; reviewing the current labour market opportunities, generating options for the future, identifying possible education or training, selecting preferred options, making short- and long-term career goals and preparing a future-orientated career plan on how to achieve desired goals (*KiwiCareers,* 2001*).* In addition to the groups listed above, Career Services *rapuara* also focus on providing career services to Maori and Pacific Island people. The services and products that have been developed for these two groups are discussed in the following section.

The career guidance session resembles the role of the expert as described by Rose (1989) and later Deetz (192) (as discussed in chapter Four). The career guidance session solicits information, for example, about values, beliefs, interests, current skill bases, from the client to gauge possible employment options and interests. A picture

is produced of the client and possible employment options offered that fit that client or which the clients can aspire to match.

8.5.3 Provision of Career Services for Maori and Pacific Island People

As a Crown Entity, Career Services *rapuara* has an implicit role in meeting the Crown's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and was signed in 1840 by the Crown representatives and Maori leaders. The provision of career information, advice and guidance are viewed as important to addressing the disparities within New Zealand society. Both Maori and Pacific Island people are disproportionately represented in unemployment, low-income employment, joblessness, and are more likely to leave school with no formal qualifications (Doczi, 1999; Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Career information, advice and guidance are seen as important features to facilitate Maori achieving their life goals by linking education, training and employment opportunities (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Current demographic forecasts estimate that Maori, Pacific Island, and Asian peoples will make up between 45 and 50% of the New Zealand population by 2051 (Doczi, 1999). Thus, Doczi suggests, the New Zealand economy will increasingly rely on the ability of these groups to participate in work. Career Services *rapuara* has developed programmes and services to meet the needs of Maori and Pacific Island peoples, and more recently, new immigrants to facilitate achieving the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi, reducing socio-economic disparities, and to meet the career aspirations of Maori and Pacific Islands people. In recognition of the importance of these programmes, the Government increased funding by $1,925,000 over four years (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). These programmes have included building stronger relationships with local *iwi*, targeting Maori and Pacific Island students and their parents, and providing support and mentoring programmes to Maori secondary school teachers (discussed in Section 8.5.4). These programmes are briefly described below.

8.5.3.1 Building Stronger Relationships with Local Iwi

During 1999, Career Services *rapuara* continued to develop strategic relationships with local *iwi* and *hapu* groups. *Iwi* and *hapu* groups are 'tribal' or family affiliations

of Maori and typically are geographically-based. These relationships have been developed to facilitate access of careers information, advice and guidance to Maori in an appropriate and effective manner (Career Services *rapuara*, 1999a). During 1999, Career Services *rapuara* reported milestones to date as including:

- Consistent branding of resources and programmes specifically for Maori
- Several branches have made moves to formalise a Kaumatua/Kuia role for their branch
- A national increase in the number of Maori accessing career information and advice
- Increased awareness by Maori of Career Services, staff have participated at key Maori events ...
- Recruitment of dynamic and highly qualified Maori staff
- Initiated a strategic relationship with Te Puni Kokiri for the delivery of the Maori student programmes
- Secured new business initiatives with local Maori employment groups to deliver career-focused programmes to Maori (p. 10).

8.5.3.2 Targeting Maori and Pacific Island Students

Career Services *rapuara* has developed one-day career-planning workshops and seminars for junior and senior Maori and Pacific Island students. These workshops attempt to deliver careers information to Maori and Pacific Island students in a manner that they feel comfortable with. These workshops use workbooks similar to the *Career Plan-it* products described above. The focus of these workshops is to engage young Maori and Pacific Island students to think more holistically about how their current school opportunities and choices might influence their future educational and working options. In the year ending June 2001, 1,834 and 514 senior Maori and Pacific Island students respectively attended these workshops. In the same year 1,811 and 213 junior Maori and Pacific Island students respectively attended these workshops (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Parents are also encouraged to attend these workshops in recognition of the important role Maori and Pacific Island communities place on the advice of elders in making important decisions. In 2000/2001, Career Services *rapuara* piloted a new programme that followed up the Maori student workshops with personalised career guidance sessions for 40 senior students (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Another 200 students who were deemed

at risk of leaving school with low or no qualifications also participated in a free guidance session (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a).

8.5.3.3 Targeting Career Influences

It has been recognised that parents and teachers are key influences of young people's career aspirations. As a result of this understanding, Career Services *rapuara* has developed the 'Parents as Career Educators' (PACE) programme and a development workshop for Maori teachers. These programmes provide Maori parents and teachers with an understanding of the labour market, employment opportunities and the linkages between career options and education. The PACE programme is funded by government to target parents of students from low decile schools, with a high Maori roll, and in remote rural areas (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001). Seventy PACE seminars were delivered throughout New Zealand in the year ended June 2001. The Maori teachers workshop was developed to provide Maori teachers whose roles involve mentoring or guiding students to equip them with the skills to influence students career decision making (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). Ten of these workshops were run in 2001 (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Career Services *rapuara* also provides a variety of services to schools in addition to these targeted programmes. These are briefly outlined below.

The programmes designed to enhance access of career services to Maori and Pacific Islanders in an effort to improve their participation within education and employment may be read as examples of the processes that Deetz called colonisation de-institutionalisation. The focus of re-educating local iwi, school students their parents and teachers (or the career influences) about the changes to employment and the linkages between education, skills, values, abilities and attitudes with employment outcomes within the framework of the employment market may be viewed as the process of colonisation. Thus the non-corporate institutions of wider family (iwi), schools (both students and teachers), and immediate family (parents) are being trained to ensure young people and those not in employment understand changes to employment and what is required to gain and remain employable. This process supports the corporate world through teaching about the employment structure that

favours business over individuals and community. This process is supported and funded by government. The employment of 'career experts' to facilitate this re-education about the self reflects the process of de-institutionalisation, whereby individuals seek meaning from secondary institutions (in this instance form Career Services *rapuara* and the career consultants). Significantly, there is no mention about the political influence that supported changes to employment (characterised by over-, under-, and unemployment), or changes to income associated with employment as discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

8.5.4 Providing Career Services to Schools

The government funds the provision of career services within schools. These services are similar to those offered to Maori students and include career planning workshop days for secondary and intermediate school students, teacher update workshops, 'Teachers as Career Educators' (TACE) workshops, workshops for newly appointed school career guidance counsellors, and PACE workshops for parents of intermediate school children. In the year ended June 2001 Career Services *rapuara* visited 390 secondary and 26 intermediate schools for consultations and advice visits, conducted 64 workshops for teachers, three workshops for newly appointed career counsellors, 21 TACE workshops for intermediate school teachers, and two PACE workshops for parents with intermediate children (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). These services are aimed at enhancing the understanding of labour market trends, and the linkages between education and future career options. These programmes, like the specific programmes designed for Maori and Pacific Island people discussed above illustrate the processes of colonisation and de-institutionalisation (as discussed above).

In addition to the career services described above, Career Services *rapuara* is trialing two new programmes in secondary schools. 'The Real Game' is an interactive career education resource that focuses on career paths and emphasises the links between learning and life. The Real Game attempts to build understanding of secondary school students of the relationship between skill and knowledge acquisition with their

future life chances (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). The game is a role-play run over 25 weeks. Backhouse (2000) explains how The Real Game is structured:

> Students in the group are given different roles to play. They each take a career and as the game progresses a number will be told they have been made redundant so that as a group they work through the impact of this on their lives, and how it affects their outgoings and what they are able to buy in terms of cars, houses, holidays. In this way they are able to look at the effect redundancy has on a person's life (p. 12).

The Real Game was developed in Canada and was under trial in six New Zealand secondary schools throughout 2000 (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). The success of the trial has led to government funding to adapt the programme to the New Zealand situation during 2002 (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a).

The Real Game' may be interpreted as a programme of normalisation and assimilation to the wider socio-political and economic context of career (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three). Thus students 'experience' first hand what it is like to be made redundant, and how they must revise their learning and future work options to rejoin the labour market. The central focus of redundancy in the real game normalises the concept (and current reality) that 'career' is discontinuous. Without incorporating a political dimension into the Real Game that enables students to enquire about the usefulness of the current neo-liberal structure as a means to organise society suggests the game is a technique of assimilation into the current political and economic structure.

'Destinations' is a new programme that is on trial in Porirua and Christchurch. This programme aims to ensure that students leave school with a training, education, or work option (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). The Christchurch trail involved the local City Council, local businesses, and government. The idea of ensuring young people have a 'place' to go in their post-secondary school life links into the government desire to reduce welfare spending through the provision of unemployment benefits. However, unless there is a job at the end of training or education, this programme again seems to act as a form of assimilation into the wider political and economic framework by maintaining work habits of getting up in the morning and

attending training or education programmes. At the time of this research, however, the programme was in its infancy, thus, the actual outcomes for participants in terms of gaining meaningful 'careers' is unknown.

The Ministry of Education recently has contracted Career Services *rapuara* to revise the 1997 publication *Career Information and Guidance in Schools.* The focus of this project is to better help schools to provide:

> appropriate career education and guidance for all students in Year 7 and above, with specific career guidance for those students who have been identified by the school as being at risk of leaving school unprepared for the transition to the workplace or further education/training (National Administration Guideline 1vi, as cited in Career Services *rapuara*, 2002, p. 1).

The project group is headed by Career Services *rapuara* (2002) and invitations to become members of the project group were sent out to career academics, practitioners and secondary school career counsellors in February 2002. The project group is to revise the 1997 school guidelines by July 2002. The final report will

- Describe the context for career education and guidance in NZ schools;
- Establish the aims and objectives of career education and guidance at each level;
- Provide examples for teachers to create opportunities for students and to achieve the aims of careers education through the existing curriculum;
- Demonstrate how Essential Skills are gained through career education;
- Provide examples of best practice;
- Provide links to NCEA, between school/business and the secondary/tertiary sector;
- Identify key responsibilities and resources (Career Services *rapuara*, 2002, p.1)

The overall aim of this project is to provide new career education guidelines for schools to enable better links between education and post-school career opportunities. The commissioning of this report serves to reiterate previous discussions, whereby government is strengthening the institutional apparatus around the construct of career and to make visible the links between individuals 'career' plans with possible labour market attachment in their post-school life. The focus of the report of assisting those

identified as 'at risk' also suggests that the disciplinary process of surveillance, normalising judgements and examination will be involved in the assessment of school aged youth with respect to their perceived readiness for the workplace. Thus, the process of career intervention may be viewed of as a process of disciplining difference, whereby the 'abnormality' is defined as non-preparedness for employment.

The provision of information to government is nothing new, as Career Services *rapuara* have been funded by government to provide policy advice and information on request since the agency was first created. The policy advice and information function of Career Services *rapuara* is briefly outlined below.

8.5.5 Policy Advice and Information to Government

Initially government sought advice to develop labour market policy (Quest Rapuara, 1991). Since 1991 advice has been sought to assist government develop education and labour market policy. Career Services *rapuara* also provides information requested by the Minister of Education, agents of the minister, and parliamentary committees on the service provision (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). Current Associate Minister of Education Mr Steve Maharey (2001), has expressed interest in further involving Career Services *rapuara* in day-to-day policy development relating to the provision of career services in schools and to the wider society. He believes that Career Services *rapuara* is a core agency of government and that the provision of career services is fundamental to the economic and social well-being of New Zealanders (*Career Edge*, 2001). This theme highlights the current governments desire to strengthen the role of career services in preparing individuals to fit into the current structure of work through the institution of Career Services *rapuara*, reminiscent of Rose's contention that governments create institutions to manage at a distance.

8.5.6 Third Party and Commercial Contracts

While the majority of funding for Career Services *rapuara* comes in the form of direct government funding through the Ministry of Education, the organisation also has two

contestable contracts with the Accident Compensation Corporation and with the Department of Work and Income. Negotiations for these contracts are conducted between the local Career Branches and local Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income branches. As a result, the provision of services offered by local Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income branches through Career Services *rapuara* may differ from region to region. In 2001 these two contracts represented over one-third of Career Services *rapuara's* total revenue (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Career Services *rapuara* has also secured a number of commercial contracts with businesses and provide services to individual fee-paying clients. These contracts are briefly discussed in this section.

8.5.6.1 Contracts with the Department of Work and Income

The contracts between Career Services *rapuara* and Department of Work and Income (and the former Work and Income New Zealand and the New Zealand Employment Service) are designed to facilitate the achievement of government strategic result areas for the public sector associated with community security and social assistance. These results include:

> Efficient management of corrections facilities that maintain public confidence in their security and provide rehabilitation that reduce the incidence of re-offending ....
> Development of policies and procedures to provide greater incentives for more people to make the transition out of benefit dependency and towards workforce participation
> Development of comprehensive and well-tailored programmes to address the needs of the long-term unemployed (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998, p. 9).

Career Services *rapuara* developed relationships with the New Zealand Employment Service as part of early strategy and the requirement to offset government funding in the running of the agency. Initial programmes were designed to facilitate the return to work of long-term unemployed. Increased government funding to New Zealand Employment Service specifically for increased career counselling for job seekers translated into more business for Career Services *rapuara* in 1996 (Career Services 1996a; McMann, 1996a). Career guidance sessions for long-term unemployed continued under Work and Income New Zealand and to the present time under Department of Work and Income (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a, 2000a, 1999a,

1998a, 1997a). Department of Work and Income case managers refer their clients to Career Services *rapuara*. These guidance sessions follow a similar process as discussed in Section 8.5.2 of individual assessment and the identification of possible future education or employment options. However, these sessions are designed to meet Department of Work and Income (and their institutional predecessors) criteria of providing "focused, action-based return-to-work plans for job seekers" (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998a, p. 9). Part of the criteria is that at least two immediate job options are identified for the client. Thus the focus of these sessions is job placement as opposed to long-term career exploration, planning and development. Currently these sessions take approximately one-and-a-half hours. The client and the Department of Work and Income case manager are provided with a *Work Directions Report* that describes the session and possible job outcomes. Attendance at the career guidance session is linked to benefit entitlement, thus failure to attend can result in benefit cuts.

Career Services *rapuara* also runs a four-week workshop targeted at facilitating the return to work for women who receive the Domestic Purpose Benefit (single parent benefit) and whose youngest child has turned six. Single parents were required to make themselves available for part-time employment and once their youngest child turns 14, for full-time employment (Onenews, 2001). This policy is currently under review, where work tests will be replaced by contractual relationships between DPB recipients and their Department of Work and Income case manager to make themselves available and to seek employment regardless of the age of their youngest child (Onenews, 2001). This government maintains that providing beneficiaries with opportunities to enter long-term sustainable work is the best way to improve the living standards of children and parents (Onenews, 2001). Part of these opportunities include training and community work. Placement on the Women to Work course is through Department of Work and Income case manager referral. These courses run between the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. The courses involve career exploration, work experience placements (where the women work for a sponsoring organisation for no pay to gain work experience), and career planning. Again, attendance is compulsory

and is linked to benefit entitlement. Failure to comply with attendance requirements can result in benefit cuts.

In 1998, Career Services *rapuara* in conjunction with the New Zealand Employment Service and the Community Corrections, piloted a programme for young offenders. The purpose of these programmes is to help reduce re-offending by linking young offenders to employment and career paths (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998a).

8.5.6.2 Contracts with Accident Compensation Corporation

The Accident Compensation Corporation was created to provide accident insurance cover for New Zealanders. Until 1999, the Accident Compensation Corporation was owned by government and funded through employer and employee payments. In 1999 the National Government opened up accident insurance provision to the market and privatised Accident Compensation Corporation. However the Labour Government reversed this in 2000 and currently Accident Compensation Corporation is again owned by government. It is funded through employer and employee contributions, and remains the sole provider of worker compensation services in New Zealand (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

The Accident Insurance Act (1998) requires Accident Compensation Corporation to provide vocational rehabilitation to claimants. The purpose of vocational rehabilitation, as set out in clause 54 of the Act, is to maintain employment, obtain employment, or to regain or acquire a capacity to work. Vocational re-assessment is provided for claimants who are likely to be able to return to work. All claimants must have a vocational assessment before any other services will be provided for by the Accident Compensation Corporation. Accident Compensation Corporation has five contracts with organisations that provide vocational assessment, of which Career Services *rapuara* is one. Career Services *rapuara,* in conjunction with Accident Compensation Corporation, has developed a variety of programmes for Accident Compensation Corporation claimants over the years. Initial work was providing vocational assessments. These assessments attempted to identify transferable skills. In 1997 the Work Capacity Assessment Programme was piloted (Career Services

rapuara, 1997a), with the aim of assessing claimants' transferable skills in order to move them from compensation to work. Contracts negotiated in 2000 included new services for Accident Compensation Corporation and their claimants. This included pre-employment work, work trials, and work placement (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a). Some local Accident Compensation Corporation branches now contract Career Services *rapuara* to work with clients until the client is placed in employment. Case managers refer claimants to Career Services *rapuara* and attendance is a requirement for continued compensation.

The various contracts with the Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation illustrate the use of career discourse to discipline those people government has targeted as requiring careers intervention to return to paid employment. These contracts illustrate many of the issues of the disciplinary society as theorised by Foucault (1977), Rose (1989), and Deetz (1992)(as discussed in Chapter Four). Those targeted for intervention, for example, the long-term unemployed, women on single parent welfare benefits, newly released prison inmates, and accident victims, may be viewed as 'abnormal' within a political discourse that desires the reduction of government welfare-provision through the creation of welfare-to-work schemes. These targeted groups are not only defined as 'different' within the neo-liberal discourse, they have also come under the surveillance of government and their various institutional case managers as requiring intervention to discipline that difference. Thus, there are actual punishments built into the requirement to attend career intervention sessions in terms of possible benefit loss. In this sense, the career intervention must necessarily be viewed as a programme of normalisation and assimilation of targeted groups into the wider political and economic framework that is underpinned by a discourse of individualism. There is little mention neither of gaining employment that meets the costs of living, nor of the barriers faced by these people to gaining employment. The goal is limited to the extent that the targeted individuals gain paid employment and thus, move of benefit entitlements. The targeting of single-parent women also indicates that this government, like many of its predecessors, fails to recognise the work involved with raising family, instead,

preferring to make invisible the economic and social contributions that are made to society through the efforts of those who work in the home and requiring them to become 'visibly active' in the market.

My interest in focusing the research on the experiences of those targeted by government for career intervention was in part to explore how the discourse of career was applied to a group of people who seemingly are the most affected by global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility. This group of people are defined as 'abnormal' within these discourses because they are not in paid employment. Yet, it is often the very practises of organisational restructuring that have left many of these people out of work. In the case of targeting single parents, it is an outcome of government policy that these people, who are primarily women, have been 'defined' as 'inactive', and as such, an economic cost to the wider community.

8.5.6.3 Other Commercial and Individual Fee-Payer Contracts

Since 1996, Career Services *rapuara* has developed a series of programmes and relationships to increase income to the agency. It has developed a small market in the provision of career guidance sessions to individual fee-paying clients (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998a), developed school holiday career planning workshops, and developed a computer based career planning programme using standardised assessment tools for individual use (Career Services *rapuara*, 1997a). These programmes continue to be developed (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

Businesses also contract Career Services *rapuara* to provide career development workshops for staff (Career Services *rapuara*, 1999a; 1998a). However, by 1998 there was an increased demand by businesses to provide workshops "that support staff affected by organisational change" (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998a). A number of contracts were secured in 1997 and 1998 that include providing preparation for retirement, coping with redundancy and restructuring, change management, career planning for women and Maori, and CV preparation (Career Services *rapuara*, 1998a, 1997a). Contracts involving workshops to help staff cope with restructuring and redundancy continued to be secured in 1999 and 2000 (Career Services *rapuara*,

2000a, 1999a), reflecting the continued acceptance and practice of downsizing within New Zealand. Career Services *rapuara* also runs career management workshops for the New Zealand College of Management as part of their management training courses (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

In addition to providing information, advice, and guidance, Career Services *rapuara* has formed relationships with national and international organisations. These relationships are briefly discussed in the next section.

8.5.7 International and National Links to the Careers Industry

Career Services *rapuara* has established a number of international and national links within the careers industry. The current CEO of Career Services *rapuara*, Lester Oakes, argued that such links facilitate the sharing of best practice in the provision of career services (Career Services *rapuara,*(2001). New Zealand has adapted a range of programmes that have been developed internationally including *CareerPoint* and *The Real Game* (Cuthell, 2000; Backhouse, 2000). Career Services *rapuara* also shares its expertise internationally. *KiwiCareers* has gained international recognition as a comprehensive career information Web-based programme and has led to Career Services *rapuara* being contacted about design (Oakes, 2001). The creation of bicultural career service provision through the creation of programmes addressing Maori needs has also gained international attention (Oakes, 2001).

Career Services *rapuara* also hosts the International Careers Conference in Wellington and is supported by The International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) (Oakes, 1999). This annual conference attracts international as well as national career academics and practitioners. The conference provides a forum for those involved in the career industry to share ideas. In 1999, 240 delegates from 16 countries attended the conference (Oakes, 1999).

The current CEO of Career Services *rapuara* has been a board member of IAVEG. He and other Career Services *rapuara* staff were invited to present papers at the

inaugural International Symposium on Career Development and Public Policy conference held in 1999. The symposium was attended by careers policy makers and industry leaders from 14 OECD countries from Europe, North America and Australasia. The symposium was designed to enable the "policy makers and careers industry leaders...to analyse career policy issues" (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a, p. 9), with the intention of making stronger linkages between career policy and practice. One outcome of the symposium was "an international action plan for policy makers in the careers industry" (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a, p. 9). Currently Oakes is on the steering committee for the International Symposium on Policy/practice interface. The 2000 symposium was attended by policy makers and career industry leaders from OECD member nations, and representatives from the World Bank and the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

As a result of the relationships established at these symposiums, Career Services *rapuara* was invited by the German Government to provide consultancy expertise to help develop a vocational guidance system in Thailand. The vocational guidance system is being developed in Thailand as part of Germany's aid package to the country (Careers Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Initial involvement in this project has extended to consultancy contracts with Thailand's Department of Employment (Career Services *rapuara*, 2001a). Thus Career Services *rapuara* has become recognised as a world leader (and learner) in the provision of career services on a national scale (Career Services *rapuara*, 2000a).

Career Services *rapuara* has also actively extended the institutional web by taking a leadership role within New Zealand's careers industry. Career Services *rapuara* provides the career industry with access to *KiwiCareers* and launched the *Career Edge* magazine in March 1999. This magazine is designed for career industry professionals and features updates on Career Services *rapuara*, and articles from national and international academics and careers practitioners. Career Services *rapuara* thus has an integral role in both the international and national career

industries, as well as providing career information, advice and guidance within New Zealand.

These national and international relationships illustrate that the careers industry is creating international and national institutional webs. These institutional webs are based upon the underlying belief that the world of work is changing, and that to be successful within it, individuals need to become proactive in planning their career. Additionally, there is the belief that good career policy and practice will lead to employment opportunities by linking education and training to the needs of an increasingly global labour market. While there is agreement that the global structure of work has changed, there seems little recognition that these changes are politically driven and therefore, at least theoretically, subject to democratic processes. Nor is there a link made between the global restructuring of employment with the growing income disparity, or the trends of over-, under- and unemployment. Rather, there remains the belief that the income and employment disparities will disappear as individuals change the self to fit the new world of work.

The next section discusses two internal audits of Career Services *rapuara* undertaken in 1999 and 2001 that sought to measure the effectiveness of career service provision to targeted New Zealand clients were. These reports indicate that Career Services *rapuara* does provide career services that impact positively upon the lives of their clients.

8.6 Reviewing the Provisional Role of Career Services *rapuara*

In 1999 Career Services *rapuara* contracted ACNeilson (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999) to evaluate the impact of career intervention on the lives of its clients. In 2001 Te Puni Kokiri also reviewed Career Services *rapuara's* responsiveness to Maori clients. The findings of these two reviews are discussed briefly below.

8.6.1 ACNeilson's Review

In 1998 Career Services *rapuara* provided services to 8,556 clients, of which 60% was referred by the Department of Work and Income (at the time known as Work and Income New Zealand), 20% was referred by Accident Compensation Corporation, 13% was funded by the Ministry of Education and 7% was individual fee-paying clients (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999). ACNeilson were contracted to evaluate the outcomes of career intervention for these client bases. Eighteen in-depth interviews and 382 phone surveys were conducted. The sample was drawn from throughout New Zealand and represented the four client groups listed above. ACNeilson sought to understand why clients went to career services, the soft and hard outcomes of their visits, and whether clients perceived Career Services *rapuara* had influenced the outcomes. These issues are briefly discussed below.

8.6.1.1 Reason for Attending Career Services

The main reasons for attending Career Service *rapuara* was to identify job options (46%) or confirm direction (30%). Another 21% said they were sent because Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation wanted them to return to work (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999). Most clients had no specific objectives prior to attending their session and wanted to find out what could be achieved for them.

The Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation clients were generally "unsure why they were referred [and that they thought] Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation referred them to find avenues to assist them back to the workforce" (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999, p. 14). They also believed that they would discuss what types of jobs they would like to do and what jobs they were suited to. These groups typically were found to have barriers to employment.

Fee-paying clients were more focused about why they went to Career Services *rapuara.* They either had a clear job in mind and needed advice on how to achieve their job goal or wanted affirmation about their existing job or training choices. Fee-

paying clients were found to be more skilled, educated and seemed more motivated than Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation clients.

8.6.1.2 Achieving Soft Outcomes

'Soft outcomes' refer to how clients felt about or viewed their job or training prospects. Typically the respondents from the 18 in-depth interviews perceived that the career guidance process was positive, and that their feelings, desires and opinions were listened to. All clients said the process included having employment and training options explored, identifying options for those who were unclear about what they wanted to do, providing alternatives to previous employment experience, or confirmation of the client's own education or employment interests. They often stated that they believed their self-confidence, self-esteem, and motivation to pursue job goals had increased.

The phone survey data indicated similar findings as the in-depth interview material. However, these respondents also indicated that their sessions did not provide strategies or solutions to achieve job goals, how they might overcome their barriers to employment, or how they could 'market themselves' (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999 p. 26). One in 10 respondents believed that their sessions were not helpful to them. Overall Accident Compensation Corporation clients were less optimistic about the outcomes received than the Department of Work and Income or Ministry of Education clients.

8.6.1.3 Achieving Hard Outcomes

Hard outcomes were defined as tangible outcomes including making steps to find employment, entering training or education, and finding a job (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999). Eighty percent of the phone survey respondents reported that they had done something to achieve their job goals. Of this group, 42% started jobs relevant to their job goals or consistent with their skills and 47% had started education or training courses relevant to their job goals (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999, p. 39). It was also found that 27% had stopped receiving Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation payments, 21% had completed training courses,

and 15% had extended a hobby into paid employment. Other outcomes included undertaking voluntary and unpaid work to gain experience, business start-ups, employment not relevant to job goals, and employment in part-time work (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999).

Twenty percent of respondents stated that they had not made changes as a result of career intervention. However, when prompted, 22% of this group reported that their Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of Work and Income assistance had stopped, 15% had started jobs, 13% had completed training or education, 10% were enrolled in education or training courses, and 6% had turned hobbies into employment.

8.6.1.4 Career Services *rapuara* Influence on Outcomes

Overall, 39% of respondents believed that Career Services *rapuara* had a 'great deal' or 'quite a lot' of influence in their job goal outcomes, and a further 31% believed they had some influence (Stockwell & Duckworth, 1999). Generally, respondents believed the Career Services *rapuara* assisted them by providing direction, encouragement and support, and helped build confidence and motivation, enabling them to achieve job goals for themselves.

Some indicative trends suggested that those who had entered training or employment were referred by Department of Work and Income, fee-payers, or funded by the Ministry of Education and attended sessions to find out what could be done for them. Those who entered employment typically had gone to Career Services *rapuara* with a specific purpose in mind. Maori, Department of Work and Income referrals and those who had attended more than one session, were more likely to report Career Services *rapuara* had a lot of influence in their outcomes. New Zealand Europeans, less than 30 years old, and individuals who attended with a specific purpose were more likely to report increased ideas, direction and focus as a result of their sessions. Women and Ministry of Education referrals were more likely to report increased confidence and motivation. Eleven percent believed that Career Services *rapuara* had not helped

them. Accident Compensation Corporation clients were more likely to report that they were not helped.

This report indicates that the clients seen by Career Services *rapuara* typically expressed that they had achieved certain positive outcomes as a result of their career session. The outcome of interest is the movement into training, education or employment after the guidance session. What would be of interest to this thesis, and yet, was not included in the report, is information about the education programmes and employment gained by the respondents. For example, it would be interesting to know whether the education programmes were in areas that would lead to well paid employment or in areas where there is an identified skill shortage in New Zealand. Such information might provide insight into how career intervention will assist in the retraining of New Zealanders in the areas of apparent job growth. Information about the type of employment gained in terms of the number of hours worked, when hours are worked, pay rates, total income, and how that employment linked to personal career goals would have helped gain insight into whether these people were better of as a result of employment, as is frequently advocated by government.

8.6.2 Te Puni Kokiri

Te Puni Kokiri (TPK), (also known as the Department for Maori Development), has a legislative responsibility to "liase with each department and agency that provides, or has a responsibility to provide services to, or for Maori for the purpose of ensuring the adequacy of those services" (Ministry of Maori Development Act, 1991, s5, as cited in Te Puni Kokiri, 2001, p. 9). Career Services *rapuara* is responsible for addressing the career service needs of Maori and, through their services, address the disparities of Maori in New Zealand society as evidenced in their over-representation in unemployment, low-income employment, low educational attainment and joblessness. Te Puni Korkiri uphold the popularist belief as espoused by contemporary career management and development theorists (as discussed in Chapter Three) that career intervention will lead to positive employment outcomes, in this instance, for Maori. TPK (2001) state that the:

> provision of quality career information, advice and guidance is of critical importance to Maori if they are to fully realise their potential within New Zealand society. Career information, advice and guidance affects the ability of Maori to maximise their education, employment and income opportunities (p. i).

The purpose of the review was to provide Career Services *rapuara* with an analysis and determination of the effectiveness of service delivery to Maori. Te Puni Korkiri interviewed 30 Career Service *rapuara* staff, and received 57 responses to a postal survey. Feedback from 87 Maori people who had accessed Career Services *rapuara* or represented Maori stakeholders within the community was obtained. The services that respondents had accessed included: career guidance sessions, KiwiCareers, CareerPoint, Career Branches, attendance at Te Whakamana Taitamariki or Taiohi Tu Taiohi Ora workshops (senior and junior Maori school student career workshops), and career information update or induction seminars for career advisors and Maori teachers. There were 65 responses to an awareness survey sent to Maori in communities. TPK reported on five key areas that they believed would indicate the effectiveness of service delivery to Maori. These areas included awareness, access, appropriateness, organisational capability, and relationships and consultation. The findings relating to these issues are summarised below.

8.6.2.1 Awareness

Career Services *rapuara* has created a number of services and marketing strategies to target the needs of Maori. However, TPK found that generally Maori are unaware of Career Services *rapuara* as an organisation, or that the organisation provides career information, advice and guidance. Maori clients were also unclear about the link between KiwiCareers, CareerPoint and Career Branches.

8.6.2.2 Access

Career Services *rapuara* was found to have attempted to improve access to Maori through geographic dispersion of the branches, the creation of KiwiCareer and CareerPoint, and by career consultants travelling to outlying areas. CareerPoint data indicated that 20% of callers identify as Maori and 23% live in rural, small urban and small towns (where Maori are concentrated). Thus the proportion of Maori accessing

CareerPoint is higher than the proportion of Maori in the population of 15.6% (TPK, 2001). Further places on programmes designed specifically for Maori are readily filled. These outcomes suggest that Maori have gained access to the services.

However, TPK identified a number of barriers to access. First, lack of awareness prevented more Maori gaining access to career services. Second, the perception of cost prevented others from accessing services. Yet, for most Maori there is no cost involved. Third, the concept of 'career' as portrayed by Career Services *rapuara* and the careers industry more generally, is not well understood by Maori (this point is explained further in Chapter Nine). Fourth, Career Services *rapuara* currently attempts to have an even geographical dispersion of Careers Branches, Maori staff, and services that target Maori. However, this approach does not recognise the uneven spread of Maori throughout the country. Fifth, demand for the Maori student career workshops is high with all places filled with more placements being requested. More workshops would enable more students to attend. Lastly, Maori clients have said that the physical layout of the Career Branches is not inviting to them.

8.6.2.3 Appropriateness of Service Delivery

Overall, those who had accessed Career Services *rapuara* expressed high levels of satisfaction. Students who had attended workshops enjoyed the one-day sessions but believed they could be improved by having a follow-up session and having smaller groups. Staff and community stakeholders thought that student days would be improved by matching the timing of workshops to critical decision-making phases in students' lives, and by involving whanau (family and extended family). Maori clients who had contacted CareerPoint expressed satisfaction. School staff viewed the Teacher as Career Educators and Parent as Career Educators (PACE) programmes highly but thought that the PACE programme would benefit Maori parents if they were held in the community, as opposed to the schools.

Maori clients who had accessed career guidance sessions spoke of high satisfaction. However, many believed that follow-up sessions would be beneficial. Maori clients who were referred by Department of Work and Income frequently had their sessions at

the local Department of Work and Income offices. Many clients would have preferred an alternative venue. Others expressed an interest in having a Maori career consultant if there was a choice.

Young Maori clients who had accessed KiwiCareers found the site easy to use and positive. Maori adults, however, had more difficulty using KiwiCareers. In addition, TPK believed that the layout of KiwiCareers and the use of Maori role models could be extended in the future development of the Web site.

8.6.2.4 Organisational Capability

Career Services *rapuara* has a strategic planning process that articulates the vision for Maori. However, TPK found that the strategic plans are not necessary translated into measurable outcomes within the business plans. While Career Services *rapuara* gathers data and analyses findings to fulfil the requirements for the Ministry of Education, Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income contracts, this data is rarely analysed by Maori and non-Maori responses. Nor did Career Services *rapuara* undertake supplementary research to identify Maori aspirations, priorities, needs, or perceptions of the services offered.

Even though staff capabilities were viewed positively, TPK identified three areas for improvement. First, Career Services *rapuara* had identified a need to recruit Maori staff, yet there was no business objective set regarding overall staff capability to deliver to Maori. Second, Maori staff turnover rate is higher than non-Maori staff turnover rates. Third, there should be basic training for all staff in the Treaty of Waitangi, te reo (Maori language), local iwi relationships, and tikanga Maori (Maori customs and values).

8.6.2.5 Relationships and Consultations

TPK (2001) argue that relationships and consultation are necessary to assess:

> Maori needs and aspirations, to allow Maori to articulate their views, to provide Maori with a forum to discuss the adequacy of the agency's approach to Maori issues and to assist the agency to inform policy decisions and delivery options (p. 45).

In their assessment of Career Services *rapuara*, TPK believed that appropriate relationships and consultations were not necessarily established to meet the aspirations of Maori. Rather they found that relationships and consultations were ad hoc, primarily built by Maori staff, and discontinued once Maori staff left, and were focused on generating possible income streams. TPK believed that Career Services *rapuara* ought to refocus the form of relationships and consultations to better enable the development of programmes and services that meet career information, advice and counselling needs of Maori, as expressed by Maori.

The Te Puni Korkiri report assumes that if Maori had greater access to career services, their overall position in New Zealand society would improve in terms of educational attainment, employment opportunities, and lower unemployment rates. However, there is no reference to the overall change to the structure and nature of employment both within New Zealand or globally. There is no discussion about the disproportionate impact that the introduction of neo-liberalism throughout the 1980s and 1990s (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three) has had upon Maori. There is no meaningful discussion about employment creation in New Zealand more generally, or in the rural areas more specifically, where it is recognised many Maori live. Further, TPK call for more career intervention for Maori, thus inviting greater institutional influence on the lives of Maori in terms of aiding the transformation of the self to 'fit' the needs of the business world. This reflects earlier discussions about the normalising and assimilist aspects of the contemporary construct of career, in this instance, the focus is specifically upon Maori.

8.7 Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter I have presented material to show that successive New Zealand governments throughout the 1990s have sought to 'manage New Zealanders at a distance' by drawing upon the construct of contemporary career management and development (Theme One as discussed in Chapter Five). This process can be critically interpreted by drawing upon the theoretical contributions of Foucault (1977), Rose (1989) and Deetz (1992).

Consistent with Rose's analysis, New Zealand governments have set clear objectives in relation to New Zealand citizens understanding the changing nature of employment resulting form the adoption and application of neo-liberal philosophy to re-structure the New Zealand economy. The expressed desire of government was to help New Zealanders to understand the changes to work throughout the 1980s as characterised by organisational restructuring and downsizing leading to mass redundancies, and the contraction of some industries and growth in others. Concomitant goals included the need to re-educate New Zealanders so they understood such changes to work as inevitable, create an understanding that individuals needed to become flexible in this new environment, and a need to help disaffected adults (who had been made redundant) re-enter paid employment. These goals became expressed in the over-arching goal of achieving closer links between education, training and paid employment and were linked to the desire to reduce government spending on welfare provision.

There is clear evidence that since 1989 New Zealand governments have sought to achieve the above stated goals through the application of career intervention. This chapter has shown, and consistent with Rose's argument, that throughout the 1990s, successive governments have set out to create an institution web to achieve these goals. This web includes The Ministry of Education, Career Services *rapuara*, Te Puni Korkiri, the Department of Work and Income, the Accident Compensation Corporation, schools, and to a lesser extent, tertiary education providers. There is also evidence that through the efforts of Career Services *rapuara* that this web has extended to include the local careers industry (including private career services providers) and international career services providers.

The creation of Career Services *rapuara*, is represented in this chapter as an example of Rose's contention that governments manage at a distance through creating organisations and employing 'experts' to change our subjective understandings. Specific to this thesis is the emphasis on changing our subjective understanding of employment, career, and personal responsibility for creating an employable self. This

is to be achieved through Career Services *rapuara* providing career services to various targeted groups and by working with (non-corporate) institutions such as community groups, iwi, and teachers and parents of secondary school children. Thus, consistent with Deetz' argument, the processes of colonisation (that of non-corporate institutions upholding or supporting the values of the corporate world) and de-institutionalisation (that of seeking the services of 'experts' to provide meaning in one's life) appears to be enacted through the institutional web and the work conducted at Career Services *rapuara* more specifically.

The express purpose of Career Services *rapuara* is to help achieve government education, training and labour market goals through the provision of career services that include creating careers information, and providing advice and guidance to New Zealanders. The products and services created to achieve these goals aimed at changing our subjective understandings of employment and the self may be viewed as involving the disciplinary techniques described by Foucault of surveillance, normalising judgments and examination (a point that is extended in Chapters Nine and Ten). The produced knowledge of the labour market by the career experts (and disseminated in the form of *KiwiCareers*, and drawn upon to give advice and guidance) is used as the basis to make normalising judgements about individuals career prospects in terms of their skill flexibility, education and training. In addition, 'value meaning' criteria of personal values, beliefs, interests and lifestyle preferences are considered when intervening in the career process.

The creation of labour market knowledge upholds and reproduces the power relationship between business and society with regard to businesses engaging the support of government to support their apparent right to define the shape, nature and conditions of employment, and between the career expert and the client who becomes the target of discipline. This produced knowledge of the labour market and of the type of 'self' who is deemed to succeed in this environment forms the basis for normalising judgments and examination. Through self-examination or through the intervention of a career expert, we are to learn how to become and remain employable within a

landscape characterised by employment insecurity, growing income disparities, and the creation of over-, under-, and unemployment.

The next chapter draws on interview material with staff to gain their perceptions of Career Services *rapuara,* and more specifically their work within the agency. The interview material is presented thematically.

Chapter Nine
Talking with the Staff

9.1 Introduction

Career Services *rapuara* was established in 1990 to facilitate the achievement of government education and employment policies through the provision of career services. In Chapter Eight, written text and interview material were drawn upon to describe the development of Career Services *rapuara*. This chapter draws upon interviews with the staff. The interview questions were based upon the theoretical understandings and perspectives presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. The respondents were asked a series of questions designed to gain an understanding of their perceptions of what 'career' means, who they believe might have a career, who their clients are, if and how client needs are met, how Career Services *rapuara* might be improved and the level of influence they and Career Services *rapuara* more generally, have in policy design. These questions were designed to explore Theme Two: 'understanding the contribution of the career expert in the fabrication of the individual self' (as presented in Chapter Five). Interview guides based on the theoretical interests of this thesis were used to guide the interviews with additional questions added during the interviews by using the technique of drilling (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). The responses from the interviews are presented thematically in this chapter, beginning with the discussion of how the respondents believed that the need for career service provision had changed in the last decade.

9.2 The Growing Importance of Career Service Provision

All of the respondents reported that they believed that the need for the provision of career services had grown over the last decade. Typically they linked this need to changes in employment characterised by voluntary and involuntary job movement, changing skill requirements, and changes to the education sector. Many articulated the view that within this environment appropriate career planning enabled individuals

to remain employable throughout their working lives. Career planning was believed to help individuals to understand the changes in employment, facilitate improved educational and training choices, enable individuals to recognise their transferable skills, and develop new skills when needed. Career planning was also thought to help individuals to learn to take responsibility for their future employment needs and enable them to become 'self-steering' in the changing environment.

The respondents promoted the view that career planning leads to better career decisions and, in turn, this leads to individual, employer, and society benefits. One respondent encapsulated the many views expressed by the participants. As this person put it:

> There are benefits to individuals, employers and society by helping people to make the best possible career choices. Good career decisions help reduce turnover and absenteeism, and hence the cost of people is reduced by reducing the mismatch between individuals and jobs. The costs to society are reduced through less need for continual training or retraining of mismatched individuals and fewer people become marginalised in society. There are societal losses for not helping people plan their career. To me it is as much of a waste to have a young person in prison as it is to have a graduate working in a job that they do not like, and under-performing in that job.

In many respects, these respondents articulated the views expressed by the popularist contemporary career theorists (as discussed in Chapter Three). They linked the need for career services and career planning to the changes in employment without necessarily locating those changes to political decisions at the national and international level that have enabled the implementation of organisational and labour flexibility or globalisation. Further, they expressed the 'need' for individuals to learn about work-place change and how to take responsibility for the self to stay employable. These respondents advocated a belief in the construct of individualism embedded in the discourses of globalisation, flexibility and career as expressed by their belief in the possibility of enacting personal responsibility, choice and action in gaining and maintaining employment. While employment insecurity was recognised as an influencing factor, they felt responsible for taking such insecurity in account when making their decisions.

Most respondents believed that individuals needed to learn how to be responsible for managing their own career and this could be achieved through providing career education, information, advice, and guidance.

9.2.1 Career Education

The respondents typically believed that career education within schools was necessary to help students understand links between themselves, their education, and future employment opportunities. Building on this theme, many respondents believed that by making links between personal interests, values and beliefs, education and labour market, career education helps students' select school subjects that prepare them for their desired career path. One respondent encapsulated the many views of this theme:

> Career education reduces the occurrence of students selecting subjects based on non-career related criteria; for example, enrolling in subjects because their friends were taking them, they liked the teacher, the subject seemed easy, or their family had influenced them.

Making career goals and plans at school were also perceived to help students' select appropriate post-school education and training that were relevant to them. Increased government investment in tertiary education and the individualised cost of student fees led some respondents to argue that the government had a responsibility and a moral obligation to ensure students made wise education choices. One respondent extended this view by arguing that:

> The government expectation is that citizens' use wisely the resources paid for by the state. I think the state has a moral obligation of its own. For example, I think the state has a moral obligation to contemplate what students do. There is a huge investment by the state and by students in their education and I believe that the state has a moral obligation to ensure students make wise choices with regard to their education.

Many respondents also expressed concern that unless young people become aware of the links between education, training, and employment, they could become marginalised within society in their adult lives. Several respondents referred to the clients sent from the Department of Work and Income to illustrate their concerns, as one stated in reference to Career Services *rapuaras'* efforts to improve the career education of Maori and Pacific Island students:

> If we see them earlier we can stop them from getting into the cycle of unemployment.

Similarly one respondent noted that (all) students needed to take career education seriously, as the "alternative was to be sent to them later in life by the Department of Work and Income".

While all the respondents viewed career education positively, many expressed concern that not enough career education was conducted within schools, and in some instances, inappropriate career education was given by teachers who were out of touch with the changes in the labour market. Thus, the effectiveness of career education was viewed as limited for some school students.

The respondents statements with regard to the importance of career education targeting young people to understand the changes in work and consequently the 'need' to plan their education to pursue a 'career' reflected the views espoused by the contemporary career theorists as discussed in Chapter Three. As such, these respondents located the notion of 'choice' in school subjects directly to creating an employable self. This response endorses Grey's (1994) observation that the construct of career provides the boundaries within which individuals may develop and create the self, despite the metaphors associated with 'contemporary careers' reflect the needs of the business world and not necessarily the needs of individuals or communities (as discussed in Chapter Three). Further, the practice of teaching students to understand changes to work, and personal responsibility for career planning exemplifies Clegg and Dunkerley's, Deetz (1992) and Grey's (1994) contention new recruits come already equipped to support the ideological repertoire of the organisational worlds, in this instance, understanding the need to plan for job movement. A related issue highlighted by the respondents is their belief that currently career education does not necessarily achieve this goal and that more appropriate career education was required. They supported the notion of strengthening the institutional apparatus created by the state to provide greater resources to improve the provision of career education, advice, information and guidance.

9.2.2 Career Information and Advice

One respondent encapsulated the many similar views on the provision of careers information and advice:

> The window for advice is much smaller now because people change jobs faster than previously whether this is voluntary movement or involuntary movement. Also the nature of work has changed.

Thus impartial and updated careers information and advice was deemed necessary to ensure citizens (both within school and out of school) could make good career decisions in the changing employment environment. One respondent argued that:

> The need for career services has heightened since the 'right' ideology has come through where tertiary educators have 'hunted students'. Students and citizens need quality and impartial advice on what they might do with their careers. New Zealand is still struggling to make this advice accessible. This accessibility is affected by lack of awareness, the perception that Career Services *rapuara* does not apply to individual or personal situations, and the cost and hours of operation are barriers.

This information must necessarily be viewed as 'produced knowledge' in the Foucauldian sense, and as such uphold particular power relationships in society (as discussed in Chapter Four). As already noted, this information and ensuing advice is the outcome of scanning and anticipating local employment market needs, interviewing job incumbents and so on. Thus, the information reproduces the current structure by portraying what currently exists in terms of job opportunities, desirable personal attributes, education and training requirements as defined by employers. This information is intended to act as a guide to help individuals match the self to the current and anticipated employment market.

9.2.3 Career Guidance

The respondents described a variety of techniques used in career guidance including interviews, interest and vocational card sorts, occupational and personality questionnaires, and setting clients up on the Quest Database. The particularities and outcomes of guidance sessions differed between the clients based on what had been purchased in terms of career service. The respondents believed that most people did not require guidance; as one respondent put it "there are always people who are self-

starters and are motivated". Rather, career guidance was thought to be useful for people who were unable to make sense of career information and advice and who needed help through the career planning process of identifying interests, values, skills and matching these to potential career goals.

The techniques described by the respondents that were used in the career guidance process reflected those stated by the contemporary career theorists and are imbued with the disciplinary techniques of surveillance, normalising judgement and examination. Candidates are invited to express who they are in terms of interests, values, skills, and so on. These confessions are then matched to possible career opportunities. The reference by many respondents that not all individuals require career guidance is reminiscent of Rose's notion of disciplining difference. Those who are not motivated, cannot make sense of the information, or who need assistance in identifying the 'self' are deemed 'abnormal' within a 'career' environment that requires self-direction, self-responsibility and self-awareness. The respondents located themselves as the 'experts' to provide career intervention and linked the importance of their work to that of other 'experts', for example, doctors ad dentists.

However, many also expressed a need to improve the status of career guidance within New Zealand and believed that all people should consider updating their career plans periodically with the help of a career consultant. Within this theme, some respondents likened the notion of career reassessment to visiting a doctor or dentist; for example, they suggested that if you are sick you would visit a doctor, why not visit a career consultant to ensure your life plan was still on track. Overall the provision of career services was deemed necessary in light of the change in employment in New Zealand over the last decade. The focus of career service provision is to help people make better career decisions. The next section describes how the respondents actually defined career.

9.3 Defining 'Career'

The identified need to provide career services to facilitate individual career choices and improve employability within the current employment environment presupposes a particular view of what it means to have a career. Some respondents linked career to all the activities relating to employment. As one respondent suggested:

> career can be misunderstood. I believe it is more about future-proofing one's self for employment. To do this we need to keep skilled and especially keep up our generic skills. If we maintain too narrow a skill base we can get stuck with few employment options.

However, typically the respondents defined career as including all aspects of one's life. One response encapsulated the many variations of this view of career:

> Career encompasses every aspect of a person's life. It's not just the paid work, it's the unpaid work, the voluntary work, the interests, the study. And it is how a person engineers that, puts it all together, how they want to shape it for the now and where they are steering it into the future.

One respondent extended this view of career to incorporate the notion of how we balance these aspects of life. This respondent noted that the balance between paid and unpaid work, leisure, family and so on differed throughout phases of life. Career was as much about choosing and negotiating balance. Indeed, this respondent suggested that at times we are unable to choose how the aspects of our lives are balanced.

Without exception, the respondents described 'career' in terms similar to the contemporary career theorists (as discussed in Chapter Three). All aspects of life were deemed by them to make up one's 'career'. Without exception, paid employment was central to the respondents definitions of career. In this way, the respondents location of paid employment within 'career' anticipated the subjection of their clients to labour market possibilities for career expression and livelihood.

I also prompted respondents to consider whether the notion of career as they had defined it was a useful concept to apply to their particular groups of clients. Their responses are thematically presented in the next section.

9.4 Who has a 'Career'?

While almost all respondents viewed career as involving all aspects of life, they recognised that many clients did not understand career in these terms. Some respondents noted that particular clients still held traditional notions of career, while others did seem to express themselves as having a contemporary career. Another theme expressed was that some clients stated they simply wanted a job. Yet others believed that the assumptions embedded in career as understood by Career Services *rapuara* and the respondents simply did not reflect the lives of their clients. These four themes are presented and critically discussed below.

9.4.1 Career as Stability

One respondent described a situation of a seminar given to a group of Rotarians:

> I began by describing the changes to the structure of work, employment security and career. Basically what I was saying to the Rotarians was you can forget about all your old ideas about careers of leaving school and getting a job for life, that's all over. You have to think of yourself as having a range of skills that you are continually looking to broaden. So what we as career advisors we are doing with people is making them aware of the fact that they will have to change throughout their working lives.
>
> The Rotarians said 'it's not a very good message to give to young people leaving school. They should be deciding to be an electrician or an accountant, or whatever.

This respondent finished by saying

> it's quite hard to put the idea of career movement across to the business community sometimes, to employers. I guess they like to have people coming to them who know they want to be an accountant. They don't want people to come to them saying 'well I think I want to be an accountant, but in ten years time I might be looking for something different'.

This respondent identified that some employers and parts of the business community that he was in contact with still viewed 'career' as remaining with one employer or profession and moving up the hierarchy, and that job movement characteristic of contemporary careers equated to employee instability.

This observation identifies that these Rotarians, of whom some are employers, still hold traditional notions of career, even though these men presumably have witnessed (or even enacted) organisational and labour flexibility strategies leading to flattened structures and redundancy. However, they still held the view that employees ought to be thinking in terms of organisational loyalty and longevity. This theme was surprising in light of the documented organisational restructuring that has occurred within New Zealand and globally that supports the thesis that individuals need to be thinking about job movement across organisations simply to remain employed.

A contrasting example was given by a respondent about working women who participated in a career-building seminar sponsored by their organisation. These women also held a traditional notion of career and believed that they should pursue one. However, they also felt that they simply did not have the energy to take on more responsibility because of their multiple work, family, and community roles. Redefining 'career' to incorporate all aspects of one's life, including expanding one's functional role at work, was believed to be emancipating and empowering by these women. As this respondent stated:

> The women said the thing that they found the most liberating was to think that perhaps the concept of career is not upward and that perhaps they could move sideways and add to their skills in a way that wouldn't add to their responsibilities at work. Most of them discounted management because they felt they could not fit any more responsibility into their lives. So the thought that moving sideways might be a good career move as well seemed beneficial to them.

Moss Kanter's (1989) argument that the contemporary career construct embraces the life experiences of women more readily than more traditional career paths comes together in an interesting way with this observation. The re-articulation of these women's experiences provides a 'picture' of how they too might have a 'career', in this instance by embracing sideways movement (or becoming more functionally flexible). This is achieved by their agreeing for themselves that they should not expect organisational progress in terms of upward mobility as well as the time and energy for their domestic responsibilities and aspirations. This observation supports Grey (1994)

and Fournier's (1996) findings that the application of 'career' can be used to change the very subjective understandings of individuals.

9.4.2 Yes, I 'Fit' the Contemporary Career

Respondents believed that some clients they saw perceived of career in the contemporary sense. When drilled, one respondent, for example, noted that younger people were more likely to conceive of themselves in terms of the contemporary career discourse, as this respondent stated:

> Yes, younger people are getting this message that careers change over time. They get this message from career advisors in schools I think. And if anybody looks closely at what is happening with people in their twenties and early thirties, and that's the age of my children, they are doing this all of the time. They are just travelling overseas, they are not too concerned about a career structure, they will slot into jobs when they feel like doing them. They are open, I don't think any of my children would consider that what they are doing now is what they might be doing in ten years time.

Another respondent described the people who were most able to take advantage of the contemporary career as:

> People who are literate, who are very literate. All of our work is very literacy based. With literacy goes a huge number of cultural understandings, and common-sense sort of understandings as well. So our language, the whole language about careers targets people who are familiar with that language in that conceptual way of thinking. So they are people who benefit, people who have some resources, not necessarily monetary resources, but resources in terms of contacts, networks, understandings, those types of things.

I drew on a previous respondent's language (as quoted in Section 9.4.3 below) to see if I could gain more insight into his particular description by asking whether "contemporary career might be best understood by white middle class New Zealanders". The reply was as follows:

> Probably a bit broader than that. But generally that is the group that are able to make the most of what we offer. I think they are working class as well. Who have a Pakeha work ethic, or Protestant work ethic, as well as those who can click into what language they can give to their attributes and their skills. Because when we teach people what employers are looking for we use words like 'honest', 'reliable'. And a lot of working class people say 'Oh yes that's me'. So there is that identification there as well, and how you communicate that you have particular skills to employers.

> The other aspect of that is we very much teach people to market themselves. Now that is not an aspect that fits easily with everybody. And so the people who are comfortable with saying 'This is who I am, this is what I am capable of' are definitely advantage by the career philosophy.

This theme reflects Grey (1994) and Clegg and Dunkerley's (1980) notion that the education sector helps equip individuals with ideological orientations that uphold corporate interests perhaps at the expense of their own, or other possible constructions of beneficial social arrangements. The references to literacy, cultural understandings and messages from school career advisors are pertinent here. Pringle and Malone's (2001) concern about the exclusionary nature of the construct of contemporary career is also highlighted. Thus, one has to have certain qualities to gain access to contemporary careers, qualities that are useful to the firm and are consistent with the assumptions embedded in individualism (this theme is extended in 9.4.4 below) and labour market logics.

While many respondents recognised that there were some people who could take advantage of the contemporary career discourse, they also recognised that for the most part, the clients that they saw did not fit the above descriptions in terms of how they perceived themselves or had access to resources enabling them to pursue a 'career'.

9.4.3 I want a job!

Respondents also stated that many of their clients 'just wanted a job'. These clients were also perceived to hold traditional notions of career. However, respondents believed these clients perceived 'career' (conceived of as upward mobility or professionalism) was for the 'other', and not for people like themselves. One respondent suggested that the use of the term 'career' needed to be discontinued, as too many people understood it to mean upwardness or professionalism. This respondent believed that such a definition was no longer useful or appropriate because of the changes in employment, and as such, the use of the term marginalised too many people.

Others believed that many Maori clients, in particular, held the view that career applied to the 'other', and that Maori clients frequently expressed that they just wanted a 'job'. However, the concept of career as understood by the respondents was viewed to be similar to the concept of well-being believed to be held by Maori. One respondent noted that:

> The failing [of career] is in the concept of careers. The failure for Maori is the white middle class notion of career as a work concept. There is a need to translate career into a life concept. The interesting thing is that international research now is starting to see career as life roles. Maori have always thought of it in this way, they have just never called it career. Maori take a holistic view.

Career Services *rapuara* is in the process of working with Maori to translate the concept of career into a frame that can more easily be understood by them and reflect Maori aspirations. In particular, the cultural concepts of spiritual, social, physical, and mental well-being, and the Maori notion of life pathways are being drawn upon to facilitate this translation.

The response to the theme of 'I just want a job' was to either disband the use of the word 'career' in order to detach it from outmoded metaphors or to translate the contemporary construct into more accessible language. The notion that these clients who expressed a desire for a job, presumably because they were unemployed, might not perceive benefits accruing to themselves under the current employment environment was not considered within this theme. Nor was the political acceptance of a desirable (or natural) rate of unemployment to act as a disciplinary force to maintain a low wage structure considered (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three).

9.4.4 'I am the Other'

While the respondents recognised that the traditional view of career was no longer valid in today's employment environment they also recognised that this view was still held by many of their clients. Some believed that the notion of career as encompassing all aspects of life was based on a series of assumptions about individuals and individuality (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three) and these assumptions did not necessarily reflect reality for all of their clients. As noted above

in Section 9.4.2, some respondents described the type of individual who is most likely to benefit from the contemporary construct of career as having particular characteristics, cultural understandings, education and resources, and were viewed as self-motivated, as such, they could take charge of their lives.

However, some respondents believed that many of their clients did not have these cultural understandings, education or resources (discussed in Section 9.7.4), or indeed did not view themselves as free, autonomous individuals. Thus, the application of contemporary career did not fit the context or circumstances of their lives. In describing 'typical' clients on the 'Women-to-Work' programmes, one respondent had this to say:

> Some women are in an extended family group.... Where there are issues, where there are different gender dynamics from other groups as well. That impacts upon the notion of career that we use. The 'who am I' sort of stuff. That's what we plough into in the first week. But for those women that is not how they regard themselves. Their role is 'who do I serve' often, and 'how do I fulfil their needs'. It is a different way of looking at the 'self' than the way we tend to practice in our organisation.

One respondent specialised in providing career guidance to Accident Compensation Corporation clients. These clients are sent to Career Services *rapuara* to assess transferable skills that might be used in alternative forms of employment. I asked whether the career guidance process would still be useful to help these clients find new forms of employment given that recent changes to our privacy laws enable employers to access personal Accident Compensation files. This is the response:

> No, I think there is a barrier there now. I don't think that [the law change] will make a jot of difference. Often when we are dealing with Accident Compensation Corporation clients that is the huge barrier we have to get over. The [clients] believe no employer will look at them because they are on Accident Compensation. And this is often the case. The clients tell stories, and we hear them enough times, enough to know they are authentic, that things are going well, and then they are asked a direct question, and they have to reveal they are Accident compensation. The employer looses interest immediately because they don't want to take the risk of somebody in the workplace who is going to fall over after a week, or maybe have an accident again and spoil their record of accidents in the workplace. So I don't think [employers gaining access to accident records] will make much difference honestly. What we try to press upon our clients is that they have

> to just keep looking until they find a sympathetic employer who is willing to give them a go.

In essence, this response suggests that the barrier to planning a new career is outside the control of some client groups who have been defined as too risky to employ, even in alternative forms of work. In this sense, their physical injuries have led them to be defined as 'the other' by prospective employers.

Two views were typically held with regard to overcoming a 'sense of otherness' and were also used in relation to the theme of 'I just want a job' (as discussed above). First, some respondents stated that they believed clients needed to change their more traditional perceptions of 'career' and embrace more contemporary understandings. Others, however, stated that they believed that the use of the word 'career' needed to discontinued because of the connotations of stability, professionalism, and upward mobility still associated with the term. One respondent encapsulated this view:

> People have different perceptions of the term 'career' and for many people it is a really threatening term that career means somebody is a lawyer or a doctor whose gone to university and has thought about the future and where they are heading, and very, very focused or directional about it.

Thus, these respondents typically stated that it was these perceptions of career that in part, marginalised people from conceiving of themselves as having a career in the contemporary sense.

Again, these statements reflect the respondents belief that the contemporary construct of career, and the many metaphors associated with it, are sound. Thus, the way to address the notion of 'other' (and indeed, the "I just want a job' theme) was to translate the term 'career' or to re-educate these 'others' to understand the term better. These proposals, however, do not address the barriers faced by people who do not match the criteria of individualism, as for example, the women to work participants who had competing demands to meet the needs of a community of people as part of their life-goals. Nor does this re-articulation of career or the re-education of clients overcome the barriers highlighted by the Accident Compensation client groups. These themes give further credence to Pringle and Malone's (2001) concerns that the

contemporary construct of career is as exclusionary as the more traditional construct of career. The underlying assumptions of free, autonomous individualism are not born out as achievable within the lives of these two client groups at least.

The themes presented in this section suggest that instead of questioning the wider environment, the respondents believed that normalising a commitment to a self-directed 'career' would enable more people access to meaningful paid employment. Thus, through normalising 'career' the seeming contradictions between unemployment and personal barriers to employment would somehow be addressed.

9.5 Talking about the Clients

The respondents were asked a series of questions relating to their perceptions of their clients. The respondents described their clients, how they became clients, conflicting career goals of Career Services *rapuara* and Third Party contracting institutions, diverse needs and how these needs were met. These issues are discussed in this section.

9.5.1 Who are the Clients?

The respondents noted that the client base consisted of Direct Government Purchase clients, Accident Compensation Corporation claimants, Department of Work and Income individual clients and Women to Work participants, school children, businesses, and individual fee-paying clients. The majority of clients that the respondents in this research saw were Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of Work and Income referrals, or those people who met the government criteria for receiving free guidance. Thus some respondents described the main client group of Career Services *rapuara* as 'unemployed adults' or 'men with bad backs'.

One respondent defined 'client' as being the person or agency who paid for the service. From this perspective people who had been sent to Career Services *rapuara* by Department of Work and Income or the Accident Compensation Corporation were considered the customer, and Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of

Work and Income was considered the client. Most of the consulting respondents worked with all groups listed above; however, typically they spent more time providing career services to two or three of the client groups.

9.5.2 Client Choice

Individual fee-paying clients and those meeting the government criteria attend a career guidance session by choice. Some respondent also believed that all clients including Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation referrals had a choice to take part in guidance sessions or programmes. One respondent, for example described a situation where an Accident Compensation Corporation client was not ready for career intervention. This respondent rang the client's case manager and as a result the client was not required to continue with the programme. This client came back in nine months on their own initiative.

However, most of the respondents believed that Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income referrals did not have a choice about becoming clients. On the one hand, respondents noted that referral was at the discretion of the Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of Work and Income case managers and that clients were not necessarily able to request career guidance or programme placement. One respondent believed that only about 25% of her clients on the Women to Work programmes had asked to attend the programme. In effect, people who perceive a 'gap' in the self and wish to gain expert advice or guidance about how to change their lives may be prevented from doing so because they lack the financial means to do so. Thus, the ability of people to take 'charge of their lives' is limited by access.

On the other hand, once an Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of Work and Income case manager had referred a client, attendance was compulsory and non-attendance could result in benefit loss. Staff were required to provide a report of the session or programme to case managers. Some respondents believed that the clients themselves might not necessarily realise the potential threat to their benefit

entitlements, depending on how well their case managers had explained possible outcomes for non-compliance. Typically, the respondents believed that the Accident Compensation Corporation claimants were more aware than the Department of Work and Income clients of the link between meeting the attendance requirements and their benefit entitlements. The following statement is typical of, and encapsulates the many responses about Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation compliance issues:

> Some clients from the Department of Work and Income will be told to come to a guidance session. It might be part of their work commitment. In other words 'you will go or you will loose your entitlement to the benefit'... In some cases, if there is a 'no-show' the case manager might do a work-test, that might not be seeing us but it might mean doing something to fulfil their entitlement to benefit. There can be a threat. Whether they are totally aware of hat or not depend on how it is explained to them and how cooperative they are.
>
> Accident Compensation have that threat. Those clients are definitely aware of that threat. They are far more aware of the threat than the Department of Work and Income clients. But because they see it as a different bal game, these clients are more cooperative, hang on a minute, they are much more OK with the idea of the compliance issue, it doesn't mean they are more cooperative actually, but they are more OK with the compliance. Whereas, I think because of the benefit system in New Zealand, and because beneficiaries are entitled to a benefit if they are in certain circumstances we haven't grown up, they haven't grown up with the idea that there is a compliance. Or that it might be a new thing certain governments have put in place that there is a compliance, whereas ten years ago you never heard of a 'work-test'. If you were unemployed, you were entitled to a benefit, whereas now, governments have said 'look you have to almost earn this', and that's a new concept for New Zealanders. So they are not educated in the way of compliance, or they are just starting to get it.
>
> However, while the respondents were aware of compliance issues, they typically did not know what actually happened to clients who do not attend sessions. Many believed that any enforcement actions taken against clients depended on how individual case managers responded to non-compliance issues.

This statement illustrates Foucault (1977) and Rose's (1989) thesis that those defined as abnormal are the subject of disciplinary intervention within contemporary society. For these two groups, their abnormality is defined by their detachment from the labour market, the potential punishment for not becoming 'normal' (or employed) is loss of income.

9.5.3 Client Needs

All respondents believed that their clients had different needs. One respondent described these differing needs in the following way:

> The long-term unemployed usually need to look at their skills and find a new direction because there is something wrong with where they are at that particular moment. With Accident Compensation Corporation clients, it is often that they have an injury, which means they have to find a different kind of work. But we see quite a few fee-paying clients, sometimes they are looking at changing careers, they are in work. They might want to look at their skills like the long-term unemployed, but more likely they would want to look at retraining, look at courses that are available, look at the job market, and get some guidance as to where they should be looking for alternative work. And they would usually be people who are fairly self-motivated to find work for themselves as well, because they have been motivated to come through the door on their own volition. Whereas with long-term unemployed there is often a huge motivational task that you have to do with them. They are less motivated.

The women on the Women to Work programmes also had diverse needs based on their age, number of children, educational attainment, ethnicity, and cultural expectations of their role in their community. Thus, women on these courses had different competing demands on their time, had different employment and education or training opportunities, and different income requirements to simply cover the cost of providing for themselves and their families. These women usually were on the Domestic Purpose Benefit and their youngest child was at least seven years old. However some women were on the unemployment benefit and were thus subject to 'work testing' regardless of the age of their youngest child. Thus, pregnant women and breast-feeding mothers are sent on these course, and in one incident a mother was required to attend even though her baby was four weeks old and still requiring three-hourly feeds.

The needs of Maori, Pacific Island people, and new immigrants were also viewed to be different. Maori and Pacific Island people were more likely to be unemployed, live in rural areas, have low educational attainments, and be affected by low economic status and thus lack resources such as telephones, transport, and computers. Many respondents also believed that Maori and Pacific Island students' career education needs were a priority to help reduce these disparities in their future lives. Maori

parents and teachers were also seen as having particular needs with respect to learning about the changing world of work in order to help their children prepare for it. Respondents also recognised the additional responsibility that Maori teachers have within the school system as Maori students sought their help and guidance on various matters, including career issues.

Client needs were also believed to differ based on their educational attainment, ranging from people who were illiterate through to those with tertiary education. Socio-economic backgrounds meant some clients did not have access to telephones, computers, or transport. Clients living in areas with poor public services, high unemployment, and declining economic activity had additional barriers. Whereas some clients had access to networks that could lead to employment others did not.
The respondents also explained that Accident Compensation Corporation and the Department of Work and Income had very different needs from both Career Services *rapuara* and the referral clients. These needs were based on the institutional requirement of moving people from receiving welfare or insurance payments into paid employment. The Department of Work and Income required that the outcome of a career guidance session for an unemployed person was to identify at least three jobs that the person could start immediately. The outcome for the Women to Work programmes was initially set at least 40% of the women participants gaining full-time employment within four weeks of the completion of the course. This outcome was modified in one Career Branch as a result of a career consultant renegotiating the contract. Thus the new conditions were that at least 40% of participants find part-time paid employment. The Accident Compensation Corporation required a skill assessment that would enable clients to find new forms of paid employment that they could perform considering their injuries.

9.5.4 Meeting Diverse Needs

Most of the respondents believed that they were able to accommodate the differing needs of the clients. Many expressed that they viewed each client as an individual and managed each session accordingly. They described a variety of guidance tools and

strategies that they could apply, depending on the individual and their situation. Many also believed that the staff were competent and well trained, thus were able to meet individual needs. Some Career Branches also had staff specialise in providing career services to particular groups. Career Services *rapuara* has been and is continuing to develop programmes that meet the needs of Maori, Pacific Island people, and those living in rural areas.

However, a contradictory theme came through where some respondents did not believe that they, or Career Services *rapuara* more generally, catered for the different needs of clients. Some believed that the variety of tools and techniques used were in fact generic, and thus not always responsive to individual needs. Some branches required the consultants to be generalists and provide guidance to anyone. It was perceived that service could be improved by better matching clients to consultants. For example, one respondent described that their age in particular, made it difficult to address fourth form students, and viewed that younger consultants might better engage with school-aged youth. The respondents consistently stated that they believed the needs of Maori, Pacific Island people and new immigrants were not met. This statement was typical of these comments:

> I think we could have a much better policy in terms of helping Maori. I think we basically have a middle class focus really. It would probably make a lot greater difference if we had access to more clients who were struggling more with work, money, careers and so on.

The limitations imposed by the contractual arrangements by Accident Compensation Corporation, Department of Work and Income and the government were also viewed as restricting the consultants' ability to meet individual needs. The one-off consulting session imposed by the Department of Work and Income and the direct government funded contracts was frequently viewed as problematic. Many believed that career development was a long-term process and a one-off session was poorly suited to engaging in this process. The respondents consistently stated that one session was insufficient for gaining an understanding of the client, their needs, family and economic context, and how they might like to develop their career.

Others expressed concern about the limited nature of the government contract to provide guidance. Under this contract, consultants can only offer free guidance to individuals who fit government criteria, and in 2001, these positions were limited to 1,100 sessions per annum nation wide (Career Services 2001a). Consultants described situations where they had provided advice to people who they perceived would benefit from a career guidance session. However, the respondents were unable to offer a free career guidance session because the person did not meet government criteria or because the Career Branch allocation of free sessions was already filled.

Respondents also discussed whether they believed that the needs of the Accident Compensation Corporation or Department of Work and Income were met. Overall, respondents believed that the terms of the contracts were met. However, the consultants typically did not receive formal feedback about specific clients, thus they were unaware of how many people moved into paid employment. Others pointed out that they did not aim to meet Department of Work and Income or the Accident Compensation Corporation needs specifically because their focus was helping the client in front of them.

9.5.5 Conflicting Career Goals

Respondents believed that there were contradictions between their goal of facilitating long-term career planning with the short-term goals of immediate employment of the Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation. As one respondent stated:

> The notion of career used by Career Services *rapuara* is holistic, and I would not advocate changing this holistic approach. The Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation need to get people into work. There is tension between these foals and the customers need to pursue career satisfaction and happiness. Some case managers do not seem to know the difference.

Several respondents stated that the threat of losing benefit entitlements had implications for the way they conducted their sessions. Typically these respondents stated the threat implicit in the guidance session meant that they needed to establish trust with clients and suggested they had a variety of strategies to help facilitate this.

These strategies included offering assurances that Career Services *rapuara* had no power to stop their benefits, sessions were confidential, and that the aim was to help the client. As one respondent described this contradiction:

> We say the session is confidential and we do not have the power to stop their benefits, and that basically we are not holding hands with Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation. In a funny way though we are because Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income are paying for the service. By the time clients get referred to us, they are almost on their way to be thrown off their benefit [from Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation] in many cases. Because Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation have got fed up, they don't know what to do with the client anymore.

Respondents also expressed that they were conscious of the need to ensure that the information included in their reports to the various institutions could not be interpreted as non-compliance. One respondent elaborated on this theme by stating:

> I think one of the things that I used to be nervous about when I first started doing Department of Work and Income guidance sessions was that we had to include an action plan in the report. The action plan can then be used as part of the customer work plan, which the customer and the case manager sign. It's like that compliance issue again, the case manager can say 'you went to see this person and here are the recommendations'. And the customer used to have to sign that they agreed with it. So we had to be very careful that in those steps we only stated recommendations we covered in the interview. Because if we then slipped something in the report and thought 'that would be a jolly good if so and so went and did this', it was like 'oh, there was no agreement there'. So what I would do is still put it in the action plan but say 'this was not discussed at the interview' to protect the client.

This respondent went on to say:

> It is no longer a helpful suggestion situation that we are potentially in. It is compliance. And my awareness of that is really important of what I could be landing the client in if I am not careful. So that Third Party thing ... changes the whole interaction. Because the Department of Work and Income set out the information that they want, the requirements that they want in the report.

Despite the contradictions between the competing career goals the respondents were aware that they had to meet Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income contractual arrangements. Yet, despite these contradictions, all of the respondents felt they made a difference in people's lives, even though they experienced contradictions between their preferred developmental approach to career

planning and the short-term job-placement required by the Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income, and they believed not all clients needs were met in the overall process.

9.6 Making a Difference

Overall, the respondents believed that they made a difference in people's lives and described a variety of ways that they helped people. However, this quote encapsulates most of these views:

> When people ask me what I do, I say 'I change people's lives. This is the optimistic view of what we do. I think that sometimes we do. I guess we wouldn't keep trying if we didn't have some successes. Sometimes people are highly motivated and they come in at the right time and they get ideas about the kinds of work they can do. They recognise for the first time that they have a range of skills that they can use in other ways that they had never thought of using them before. They also may be triggered by getting some information that they have never heard before, and that might be what the need to move on, to get into a particular type of training or to know that certain jobs exist that they have been totally ignorant of before. Sometimes it has been quite clear that they have been motivated by what we have done with them and they go out and do things that they would not have done if they hadn't come here.

Respondents also recognised that good information and advice whether provided through the Career Branches or via the Internet or telephone service had enabled some people to make better career choices. Respondents who had worked with the school career days and with teachers stated that the received positive feedback from the students and teachers. Students reported that the events enabled them to explore their own interests and values, and to think about how these interests might lead to education, training, or employment in their post-school lives.

The respondents stated that they received a variety of positive comments from their clients. These comments included statements listed here, for example:

- The Curricula Vitae produced led to employment.
- I understand where and how to access career information.
- I have enrolled in education or training courses relevant to career goals.
- I feel more motivated now.
- My self-esteem has improved.

- I they felt valued throughout the guidance process.
- I felt that my needs and ideas were listened to for the first time.

One respondent described how they routinely invited a Benefit Advocate to speak at the Women to Work programme. Thus at the end of the programme, participants were well informed of their legal benefit entitlements. This helped some women gain their full benefit entitlements, including understanding their entitlement to a training grant worth $3,000 per annum for three years. Some women used this grant to pursue tertiary level study. This respondent believed that the women who had enrolled in education or training benefited the most from the programme.

Many of the respondents also described situations where they had made a change to people's lives by going beyond the terms of the Department of Work and Income, Accident Compensation Corporation or government contracts. Respondents had kept in touch with people and mentored them until they had accessed the career of their choice. Others discussed how they used their own personal networks to help gain employment opportunities or career-building opportunities for people. While many respondents indicated they did go beyond the terms of the contracts, they were also aware that the time spent doing so was not paid for. Thus, their ability to do this was restricted. While all the respondents were positive about making a difference in people's lives, they also identified a number of issues that they believed limited their ability to make a difference.

9.7 Limiting the Difference

While all the respondents believed that they made a difference in their clients' lives, their answers to a series of prompted questions indicated that their ability to change people's lives was limited. The source of limitations included undeveloped career education, budgetary constraints, contractual constraints, existing barriers, and the economic climate. Each of these themes is discussed in this section.

9.7.1 Undeveloped Career Education

Many respondents believed career education within schools was unrelated to the changes in employment. Many also felt that career education should start at a much younger age, for some as young as 11 and 12, and continue throughout compulsory education. These respondents believed that career education would help school students to better understand the changing world of work and the links between their own education attainments and future job prospects, thus preparing them for their adult lives. One respondent succinctly summarised these views:

> Career education is undeveloped in schools. Why else are students at school if not to begin developing the skills needed to pursue a career?

9.7.2 Limited Budget

Career Services *rapuara* is funded by government through Direct Purchase Agreements. These agreements require Career Services *rapuara* to 'produce' certain outputs, for example the maintenance of *KiwiCareer, CareerPoint*, providing a set number of guidance sessions to targeted groups, school update days and so on (as discussed in Chapter Eight). These outputs are consistently met or superseded. However, the respondents also consistently indicated that the Direct Purchase Agreement with the Ministry of Education restricted their ability to provide career education, information, advice, and guidance to a wider audience. Thus while the government contracts were met, many of the respondents felt that the vision of Career Services *rapuara* of providing all New Zealanders with good careers information and advice was not being achieved.

Building on the above theme, respondents frequently stated that the government criteria set for free guidance provision restricted their ability to provide guidance services to many people that might otherwise benefit from a session. One respondent noted that several years ago the government contract focused on the provision of guidance to women returning to work. Thus under that particular contract, a student was not eligible for assistance. Currently the government contract has a broader focus, but guidance is still limited to those who meet current criteria and the number of guidance sessions is restricted by the contract.

In an attempt to increase revenue, and in response to budget cuts in the early 1990s, Career Services *rapuara* began to target fee-paying customers for guidance sessions. However, many respondents viewed that the cost of guidance was too high for many people who might otherwise benefit from such a session. The cost for a guidance session meant that many people could not afford to pay for individual sessions, and many expressed concern over the fee-paying structure as a method to gain wider access to individuals. Commonly, the respondents viewed the cost of a guidance session as prohibitive, further restriciting their ability to provide career services to a wider audience. One respondent discussed this concern in depth and linked these concerns to the changing nature of employment in the last fifteen years:

> I think turning it into a fee-paying situation makes it very difficult. That people think about going to the doctor or dentist, or getting their eyes done because they have to, and it may be a struggle to pay for that, but it is a reasonably high priority. Thinking about yourself as a commodity, your shelf life, and how you are going to support yourself, however that might be, whatever shape that takes, is also pretty important. Within the broader perspective of career, I'm not just talking work, so if people can't afford it, which they probably can't, and the government is serious about people understanding their place in the labour market, then I think more work needs to be put into it. Because things have changed so much in the last fifteen years, it changes without people realising it, or the change is taken with a knee-jerk reaction. Like the term redundancy in the 1970s and 1980s sent shudders up peoples spine, and it doesn't necessarily have to be that like that, if you think about yourself in a different package to what people thought of themselves in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, as workers.

Budgetary constraints were consistently linked to Career Services *rapuara's* inability to market itself effectively, meaning that few New Zealanders know about the services available. Budget constraints were also linked to high workloads of the staff in general and the branch managers in particular, who were often responsible for consulting as well as managerial tasks.

9.7.3 Limited Third Party Contracts

Some of the respondents considered the terms of the Department of Work and Income contracts problematic. Three themes were apparent here. First the provision of one or two guidance sessions was deemed to be too brief an intervention. Many respondents believed that the timeframe limited their ability to understand the client in terms of

their background, skills, and career aspirations. Second, the focus on finding two or three immediate job options within the short timeframe did not reflect the developmental approach preferred by the consultants. Respondents believed that 'career' is long-term, yet they were confined to addressing short-term job-related issues.

Third, the consultants noted that the Department of Work and Income case managers were responsible for helping the client to implement the career plan. Some respondents believed that the assistance provided was dependent on individual case managers. Some case managers were believed to carry out this task, however, respondents also described incidences where they knew case managers did not follow through with career plans. Sometimes, respondents believed that some case managers lacked the time or skills to follow through with clients. Others noted that some case mangers had an income focus as opposed to a work focus. This was thought to reflect the historic position of staff prior to the creation of Department of Work and Income. That is, work-focused case mangers were thought to have been previous New Zealand Employment Service employees, while income-focused case mangers were thought to have been Department of Social Welfare employees. Others believed that the career plans presented a long-term approach to developing the clients, including the possibility of training. Yet the case managers were responsible for moving clients to work, thus, given the choice between a job or implementing a developmental career plan, the case mangers would seek the employment option. This was particularly evident for the participants of the Women to Work programme where respondents knew of instances where case managers actively discouraged the women from applying for the training allowance that would enable them to enrol in tertiary education. These clients described how their case managers argued that they should find work and not burden the taxpayer further by drawing on the training allowance. It was believed that some case managers played on these women's sense of guilt to find work rather than facilitating their aspirations to pursue longer-term career goals. Similarly, one respondent described that sometimes they felt used by Department of Work and Income. This respondent described incidences where case managers had

sent clients to learn to become 'more realistic' about their career goals. Thus the respondent was expected to filter the clients away from their career aspirations towards jobs that the case managers thought better suited the client in terms of their perceived intellectual and skill capacity.

The lack of follow-through was also deemed problematic for the government-funded and individual fee-payer clients. The respondents often noted that the hardest part of career planning was the implementation of career goals, a stage that frequently required motivation and occasional hand-holding. Some respondents kept in contact with clients to help them implement their plans; however, this contact was not paid for, and thus deemed as not contributing to output. However, this was a typical statement made in reference to lack of follow-through:

> One of the difficulties when we work with clients on a one-to-one basis is we provide a report to their case manger. These reports there are steps to follow that we recommend. The client is aware of this report. We have no control over whether the steps are implemented once they go back to the Department of Work and Income or Accident Compensation Corporation... It takes a very strong person that will implement the plans themselves, or say to the Department of Work and Income 'I want to do this'. I'm sure if the Department of Work and Income has a choice between implementing a plan and giving the client a job, they will take the job because some of the plans can be expensive to implement.

The respondents recognised a contradiction between their aspirations as career consultants to facilitate career development with the terms of the government and Department of Work and Income contracts of short-term job-focused intervention. Many respondents reconciled this contradiction by believing that the contracts with Department of Work and Income for example, provided Career Services *rapuara* with additional income that enabled the agency to provide services. They also believed that while the intervention was not ideal clients were provided with some insight into the process of career planning, and that at some future date clients might return to Career Services *rapuara* or a similar agency to complete the process of career planning and development.

One respondent's articulation of the concerns relating to budgetary constraints and limited contractual arrangements nicely summarised the many views expressed by the participants:

> The goal of Career Services is stated as "all New Zealanders have access to career information, advice and guidance. This goal has some way to go to be met. Many New Zealanders don't know about Career Services *rapuara.* Not everyone has the right to have free access to our products and services, and I believe everybody ought to have this right. Accident Compensation Corporation and the Department of Work and Income case managers determine who is sent to us, and many other customers of theirs could benefit from our services. To achieve the goals of the organisation, we need to be better resourced, have better staff training, and have better marketing.

9.7.4 Existing Barriers and Current Economic Climate

Some respondents believed that the type of services offered did not adequately address the existing barriers that their clients faced to gaining employment. The barriers respondents discussed included illiteracy, lack of access to telephones, computers or transport, and geographic location. The barriers of illiteracy and lack of telephones and Internet access meant that written material, *KiwiCareers* and *CareerPoint* were of no value to some people. This statement was typical of the concerns raised in this area:

> We have two initiatives that seek to gain a wider audience. *KiwiCareers,* the web based information provider for the organisation, is limited as to access it you have to know how to use a computer. The trend is to move towards more web based career advice, but there is still a need for face to face guidance.

This respondent went on to say:

> Yes, there is a place for computer based career advice, but we should not minimise away the face-to-face service. Otherwise we will have big gaps between who can access career information and advice and who cannot access this.

One respondent who had worked on the Women to Work programmes and in rural areas disaffected by economic restructuring stated that many of the people seen did not have telephones and this posed particular difficulties for gaining employment:

> You would be amazed, maybe you wouldn't, I have never been able to get across to this organisation the number of people who don't even have a telephone in the [rural] areas. So CareerPoint isn't even accessible to them. Certainly not *KiwiCareers.* I said this to the CEO several time and he said

> each time 'we have done our research and we find small numbers of people who don't have a phone in New Zealand'. But my experience is that they are concentrated in pockets where it is more likely that most people in that community won't have a telephone.
>
> So even if they have an opportunity, they might be able to get to a phone to ring an employer, but for an employer to ring them back. This is a big issue that I have recently raised with the Department of Work and Income. Most of the women on the Women to Work courses that I run don't have phones either. You take them to a temping agency or whatever, and they say 'look, we have to be able to contact you as a job appears. Have you got a neighbour or someone?'. And no they don't. I have just managed to get the Department of work and Income to fund prepaid phones because it won't cost the client ongoing costs, but they could receive phone calls.

Similarly, this respondent and others stated that the geographic location of individuals impacted upon their ability to take advantage of the career service process. First, Career Services *rapuara* does not have a presence in some areas within New Zealand. This was thought to affect rural regions where there is no office. Some believed, however, that the CareerPoint phone service had helped improve this situation.

Second, as noted above, some regions in New Zealand have been disproportionately affected by the economic restructuring that began in 1984. Thus some regions have high unemployment, coupled with few employment opportunities. Many of these same regions are affected by the withdrawal or downgrading of public and social services, including transportation, postal, banking and health services. The respondents experience suggested that people living in these regions were also less likely to have telephones or Internet access. Thus career intervention with a focus for gaining employment was considered of little value when there were no jobs available and where there was a lack of personal and public transport to enable them to get to work out of the region (or indeed out of walking distance from their home). Third, many respondents viewed that immigrants also face particular difficulties finding employment in some cities where it was perceived that the local business community (or major employers) were less culturally aware.

Respondents differed in the ways they dealt to the contradictions inherent in providing career intervention within an economic and political climate that did not guarantee

employment. One group of respondents eliminated the contradiction by believing that they help people to understand changes to work and their need to re-skill. These respondents believed that by changing the 'self', jobs would seemingly become available. Once employed, the disparities within New Zealand would be redressed.

Other respondents recognised the contradictions but appeared to believe that time would change circumstances. They could help individuals to focus on what they could do now to prepare themselves for some future opportunity that might arise in different economic conditions. As one respondent stated:

> I guess if we are able to create the dream and be involved in that upskilling or helping people reach their dreams then it is more likely to happen. Because there is a shift in the labour market and job requirements and the type of skills the labour market is requiring overtime, from twenty years ago say. If we can be a part of that awareness raising in people in that 'this set of skills is not marketable, but this set of skills is, and you can transfer these ones over to here, you will become more of a marketable commodity', then I think that is valuable. And some of the messages that we keep hearing is that there are labour shortages in carious areas, so yes, perhaps we don't have enough jobs to go around, but if we can shift the dial a bit perhaps we can move it out a bit.

Another group of respondents seemed to ignore this contradiction, preferring to focus their attention on providing career information, advice, and guidance. These respondents made statements such as 'that it was not part of their job to consider what happens to clients after guidance sessions'. Rather, they stated that it was 'the concern of the client, or the Accident Compensation Corporation and Department of Work and Income'. Many of these respondents linked their comments to the terms of their contractual arrangements with the Department of Work and Income, Accident compensation Corporation, or the Ministry, as well as the time constraints imposed upon them within these contracts.

One respondent decided to resign from Career Services *rapuara* because she could no longer reconcile the contradiction of providing career services to people who lacked the necessary resources to find employment, particularly in a competitive labour market.

9.8 Improving Career Services

Respondents made suggestions as to how some of the limitations identified above could be overcome. Many believed that the contracts needed changing to reflect the circumstances of peoples' lives. In particular, many believed that more consultation time was needed with clients in the career planning and implementation phases. Others noted that Career Services *rapuara* could improve their service by gaining access to larger numbers through improved marketing and increased funding. Significantly, many believed that the lack of awareness was as much a problem as the contractual restraints. Others believed a greater match between the consultant and the clients would help. Still others noted that not enough work was being done with Maori, Pacific Island people, and immigrants. Many believed that to engage with these groups more effectively required much greater consultation to understand their aspirations, needs, and life contexts.

The suggestion by participants that the outcomes of career services could be improved by extending the services to larger numbers of people reinforces Rose's (1989) analysis that 'experts' also seek to extend particular forms of discipline in society and endorses the idea that they really do believe in what they do. In essence, the participants were stating that by extending their reach, they could help more people understand the changes to work, make better educational and training choices and as a result improve their career planning abilities. Even when prompted to consider the unemployment rate and the economic environment as a whole, the respondents still believed that the application of the contemporary construct of career would relieve these issues for many people, or as stated above 'we can turn the dial a bit'.

In contrast, some believed that the wider economic conditions of New Zealand restricted people gaining desirable employment. These respondents believed that simply offering more of the same service was ineffective. While many respondents had ideas of how to improve the service, there were contradictory views about whether they themselves could influence policy to implement some of their ideas. These issues are discussed in the following section.

9.9 Influencing Policy

The respondents identified four levels where career policy is made of global, national, organisational, and third party levels. The respondents had differing views about the degree of influence they or Career Services *rapuara* had on policy-making at these various levels. These themes are discussed in this section.

9.9.1 Influencing Global Policy

Career Services *rapuara* has gained an international reputation with respect to the services that they provide. Significantly, *KiwiCareers* has been used by similar agencies overseas as the model for their own Web-based career information systems.

Career Services *rapuara* has also become influential in the developmental phases of creating global-level 'best practice' career policies As discussed in the previous chapter, the Chief Executive of Career Services *rapuara* has also been an active board member of the International Association for Education and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG). IAEVG have recently developed an annual international symposium on policy development. Academics, practitioners and publicly-funded career agency representatives from mainly OECD nations attend the symposium to share ideas on career policy development and implementation. IAEVG has created a steering committee to help establish international best practice and to develop an international careers centre to be run out of Canada. The CEO of Career Services *rapuara* is a member of this committee. In conjunction with Germany, Career Services *rapuara* is also designing a government-funded career agency in Thailand. Thus Career Services *rapuara* is influential at the global level. As one respondent noted:

> There is quite an international web building around careers. The underlying philosophy of this web is that properly managed careers can benefit society, individuals, and the economy. Careers information, advice, and counselling can be viewed as the lubricant to help people plan moves into the labour market as well as between jobs.

This theme indicates the growing power of the 'career expert industry' in the global arena. This growing globally based career web upholds the belief that the 'world of work' is changing and adopts the premise that individuals can manoeuvre themselves

within this changing employment environment (as discussed in detail in Chapter Two and extended in Chapter Three). This new web must necessarily be viewed as attempting to normalise global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility through the extension of the contemporary metaphors of career that place the responsibility to stay employable squarely with the individual. Yet, changes occurring in the global political and economic arena have been created to uphold the power relationship that currently exist between business and the wider (global) community. The knowledge produced by the careers industry, and deemed as best practice, must necessarily be viewed as upholding this power relationship as long as the discussion focuses on changing individual perceptions and actions to fit into the changing landscape of employment.

9.9.2 Influencing Government Policy

One respondent noted that over the years the role of Career Services *rapuara* had changed from being a service provider to being a leader in terms of research and development, and policy input. This respondent believed that the policy-input role of Career Services *rapuara* has developed as a result of the quality of the management at Career Services *rapuara* since it was first developed. Thus, this respondent suggested that "this has led to increased confidence in Career Services *rapuara* and a belief that the management and staff have a valid opinion to make". The view that Career Services *rapuara* has an increased role in policy advice was supported by many of the respondents.

Respondents indicated that the policy role has strengthened since the current Associate Minister of Education became involved with Career Services *rapuara*. As discussed in the previous chapter, this minister has indicated a commitment to involving the agency in greater policy direction. Many respondents believed that because of the Minister's interest in Career Services *rapuara*, they are better able to influence government policy on careers now than at any time in the past. Others extended this view to suggest the current Minister has taken a 'partnership role as opposed to a policing role', as was the case under previous administrations. Policy

advice is presented in the form of papers presented to the Minister on matters regarding education, skill shortages and digital divide papers.

The development of relationships with other government bureaucracies was also seen as enabling Career Services *rapuara* to express their views to government. These relationships were believed to bring Career Services *rapuara* into government light.

The view expressed by many participants throughout the interviews, however, was that government needed to extend its reach into the community to enable more people access to career services. Their focus was to strengthen the institutional apparatus, Career Services rapuara as the central organisation, and the role of career experts to help teach New Zealanders to assimilate themselves into the global economy.

9.9.3 Influencing Career Services *rapuara* Internal Policy

Some respondents were responsible for creating internal policy. Others noted that there was a climate of sharing ideas within Career Services *rapuara*. Thus many viewed that they could influence the internal policies of the agency through negotiating with each other about what issues might best serve the agency and the client groups.

However, some respondents stated that while they knew they could express their views, this did not automatically translate into these views being listened to or acted upon. Others noted instances when they had attempted repeatedly to make certain issues known yet felt that their concerns were not listened to. In particular, some expressed concern over the focus on technology as a method of service delivery. Others recognised that the majority of people they worked with did not have access to telephones or the Internet, and had literacy difficulties. These people were thought to be further marginalised by the new technological approach to service delivery. These views had been expressed, yet there was a feeling among some respondents that their concerns were not addressed or taken seriously within Career Services *rapuara*, or by government. Thus, some respondents stated that the wider socio-economic

circumstances of many of the clients were not reflected in internal or governmental policy. These respondents stated that the provision of career service in its present form could not address the problems caused by the wider socio-economic circumstances of many of the clients.

These issues are of interest as they relate to some respondents attempting to address the actual barriers to gaining access to a career (limited to a notion of employment) experienced by their clients in terms of their skill level or economic circumstances. This theme suggests that concerns that contradict the focus of the organisation or of government will not necessarily be acted upon. To act upon these barriers would require, at the very least, government expenditure, or a review of the current political and economic thrust towards extending global neo-liberalism and flexibility and the ensuing difficulties this has with the structure of employment.

9.9.4 Influencing Third Party Contracts

Career Services *rapuara* has increased its influence in negotiating contracts with Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation. Many expressed the view that both Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation readily accepted advice from Career Services *rapuara* when developing the programmes and outcomes for their clients. Some respondents gave examples where they had personally influenced these agencies. One such example occurred when a career consultant challenged the Department of Work and Income outcome of the Women to Work programme run by their Branch. This respondent noted that Department of Work and Income desired 40% of participants to gain full-time employment as a result of course attendance. However, under the conditions set out for benefit entitlement, the majority of the women were only required to seek 15 hours of work per week. As a result of the challenge, Department of Work and Income changed their criteria to at least forty percent of the women gaining part-time work within four weeks of the course finishing. This respondent also described how these women often did not have telephones, which made access to employment more difficult. As a result of this, there have been attempts by the

respondent to encourage Department of Work and Income to supply pre-paid phones so these women can make contact with potential employers.

In the first example above, the respondents were expressing what Rose (1989) called the claim of authority by the experts based upon their knowledge base. In essence, reiterating the theme expressed throughout this chapter of the increased power of career expertise in New Zealand. The second example illustrates how one respondent used specialist knowledge of the law and the labour market to advocate for the rights of the Women-to-Work participants. These efforts to resist and seek change where carried out within the parameters set by Government, Career Services rapuara, contractual relationships with the Department of Work and Income, and the wider economic environment, yet illustrate a willingness to address wider socio-political and economic concerns as they relate to this thesis. The subsequent resignation of this participant indicates that such attempts to change or resist wider structures are individually difficult to achieve.

9.10 Concluding Thoughts

The interviews produced interesting insights into how the staff of Career Services *rapuara* viewed what it is they do. Overwhelmingly, the respondents indicated that they believed they made a difference to people through the provision of career education, information, advice, and guidance. The respondents consistently defined 'career' as encompassing all aspects of one's life. Typically they believed that the economic environment characterised by changing skill requirements and employment opportunities required individuals to take a more holistic approach of how they viewed themselves in relation to this world of work. Many upheld the belief that properly planned and managed careers could lead to employment, thus benefiting individuals and society.

Alternative views however, indicated that not all of the respondents believed that they could make a significant difference in the lives of individuals. Some referred to the inability to extend the service to more people, while others held that the current

economic climate was not conducive to moving all people into the workforce. Typically, however, most believed that by extending the reach to more New Zealanders, Career Services *rapuara* could make a greater contribution to facilitating the movement of people into employment. The following chapter presents the material gathered from the two guidance sessions that made up the situational observation for this research.

The issues raised in this chapter serve to illustrate the concerns expressed in Theme Two (as discussed in Chapter Five). The role of the career expert appears to be growing in importance and functions within a wider disciplinary apparatus of the State (as discussed in Chapter Eight). Aspects of Foucault, Rose and Deetz analysis were apparent in that the experts employed by the State play a central role in disciplining society to accept new forms of normality. The particular construct of normality of being employable through personal responsibility upholds particular power relationships in a global society based on neo-liberal principles. Most significantly, by defining the individual as the central point of responsibility upholds particular ideologies of business, that they no longer guarantee employment. The translation of taking care of the self, consistent within the neo-liberal discourse, helps to achieve certain government objectives, particularly surrounding the reduction of government expenditure on welfare provision. The techniques used to create normality have inherent rewards – finding a job, having a 'career', and punishments – loosing benefit entitlements, or simply continuing to exist on downgraded government welfare provision and continued marginalisation within society. The next chapter presents the findings associated with Theme Three of this research.

Chapter Ten
Situational Observations

10.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the material gathered from the two observed situations and seeks to address Theme Three (as presented in Chapter Five). The first section describes how I viewed the situations. Both sessions were followed immediately by debrief interviews between the clients and myself. Section 10.3 presents thematically the post-situational observation interviews held with the two clients. Section 10.4 discusses how the consultant perceived the two sessions. These debrief interviews with the career counsellor were held two and four hours (respectively) after the initial debrief session with the clients. Approximately six months after the situational observation phase of the research the consultant became a student in one of my university courses. In one of the assessments in this course she reflected upon her role as a career advisor in light of broader socio-political and economic environment within New Zealand. This assessment is presented in Section 10.5 as evidence that this respondent has begun the process of transformative re-definition described in Chapter Six.

10.2 Describing the Situations

This section describes the career counselling sessions with the two clients who were observed for this thesis. The clients were referred to Career Services *rapuara* by their Department of Work and Income case managers. Both sessions took a similar format and were facilitated by the same career counsellor. Because the sessions followed a similar format I have chosen to describe them together here. Individual differences will be noted where appropriate.

10.2.1 Before Each Session

The counsellor reassured the clients that their sessions were confidential, but pointed out that a copy of the 'Work Directions Report' would be sent to the Department of

Work and Income. The counsellor then asked each client to say if there was any material that they did not want disclosed to Department of Work and Income to ensure it was not included in the Work Directions Report.

10.2.2 Purpose of the Department of Work and Income Sessions

Department of Work and Income determines the purpose of these career-counselling sessions. The outcome for these sessions is *consistent with the Department goal of moving beneficiaries to work,* where two realistic job options that the clients can start within three months of the session and a focused programme to follow to gain employment are to be determined. These Department of Work and Income contracts allow three hours for each client within this client group. The time is divided between the counselling session and the production of the Work Directions Report. Typically, Department of Work and Income sessions run between one and one-and-a-half hours. These particular two sessions ran for around one hour. Within the session time, the counsellor is expected to build rapport with the client, assess their work attitudes, current and future work interests, current and potential skills, and provide at least two realistic job options for the client. After the session the counsellor writes the report and a copy of is sent to the client and their Department of Work and Income case manager within 10 working days. The time frame of three hours per client supported the earlier statements of participants about the limited time given to guidance sessions by the Department of Work and Income (as presented in Chapter Nine).

10.2.3 Layout of the Observed Situations

The two Department of Work and Income counselling sessions I observed were held at each client's local Department of Work and Income office. While these offices were in different towns, the layout of the interview rooms were identical including the same yellow/lemon colour paint on the walls. In each room there was a round table and four or five chairs. The Career Counsellor sat on one side of the table and the client on the opposite side. I sat away from the table where both the counsellor and the client could see me. The rooms had glass doors so that others outside could see in. The rooms were at the 'back' section of the Department of Work and Income offices.

To get to them we had to walk through the entire Department of Work and Income office. These offices are open plan design. Each worker has a desk with a monitor and a spare chair to interview clients. Thus, Department of Work and Income clients are interviewed where other Department of Work and Income workers or clients (and in this instance a roving researcher) can hear their consultation.

The physical layout of the offices resembled certain aspects of Foucault's notion of the panoptic gaze. The client was centred in a public space. Their behaviours and speech could be viewed, heard and monitored by all staff and clients that were present in the vicinity at that time.

10.2.4 Brief Client Description

The first Department of Work and Income client observed was a 19-year-old male. He was clean-shaven with short hair. He wore a tidy shirt and jeans. He had been referred to Career Services *rapuara* after being unemployed for three months. He had left school at 18 and had several jobs since. His school qualifications were gained in Australia, but the client was unsure whether they were the equivalent to New Zealand's Sixth Form Certificate or Bursary standards. He moved to Australia with his parents while still at school. He returned to New Zealand because he could not find employment in Australia and because he had lived there for less than two years, and under the new Australian and New Zealand agreement was not eligible for unemployment benefits in that country.

The second client was 26 years old. He had a tidy beard, earring and nose ring, and tattoos on his forearms. He was dressed tidily in a T-shirt and jeans and wore a 'beanie' (close-fitting woollen hat). This client had been released from prison three weeks prior to the guidance meeting and was referred by his case manager to the session in that time. This client had left school at age 15 with no qualifications and apart from intermittent short-term jobs had been unemployed for much of the past 10 years. While unemployed he had been involved in various courses arranged by Department of Work and Income (and the various departmental predecessors) and

been involved in the 'Work-for-the-Dole' scheme. He had completed some basic courses and gained some work experience while in prison.

These two clients reflected some of the descriptions given by the participants (as presented in Chapter Nine). They were both unemployed adults, they both required employment, and they both had difficulties finding employment.

10.2.5 Format of the Counselling Sessions

Each of these sessions took approximately one hour and followed a very similar format that included i) ascertaining the client's work ethic, ii) understanding previous work experience and educational background, iii) understanding work interests and possible future study interests, and iv) using the work interests, and skill and education base to talk about possible immediate, medium and long-term job options. Each of these will be described briefly below.

10.2.5.1 Work Ethic

This part of the process seemed to be an attempt to find out what it was about work that would motivate clients to find a job and what type of jobs they would like. This section included asking them about why they wanted to work, what they wanted from a job, and whether they had considered other options (for example training or education that might lead to different opportunities at a later date).

For the first client the session began with the counsellor asking about his view on work, in particular why he wanted to work. This took some time. It was interesting to hear the client refer to work as a vehicle to obtain the material possessions he desired. Of particular importance was the role he saw work had in enabling him to save money and buy his own business some time in the future. The client also commented that it would be good if he enjoyed his work, but more importantly he wished to be treated with respect at work. For him, work seemed to be a means to pursue other aspects of his life including entertainment, lifestyle, material possessions, and as the stepping stone to further his desire to 'be his own boss'.

The second client viewed work as a means to gain money and hence gain visitation access to his son. He had not seen his son in two years and was not allowed to make contact. He stated that 'getting a job' would stabilise him and increase his chances of seeing his son. He made frequent references to access throughout the session and how it was linked to him being more 'stable' in the eyes of the Children and Young Persons Service. He suggested that it would be good to like his job and enjoy it, but he would have to take whatever he could get as he viewed that with his conviction 'the opportunities weren't open to him'. This client did not appear interested in training or education in the short-term, as he required a job and money to be viewed as 'stable'.

10.2.5.2 Skills, Knowledge, and Interests

In the second phase of the sessions, the counsellor focused on the clients' CVs to draw out what they had done with respect to work, training, and schooling. These were used to base a discussion around what the clients liked and disliked in terms of work-related interests. At this point the counsellor seemed to continue the theme of work rather than focus on training and education.

This process brought about some interesting comments from the first client. There were things that he thought he was interested in, yet, had not necessarily viewed these interests as relevant to work. This session seemed to open up new opportunities for this client, for example the counsellor linked his interests and work experiences to possible businesses, quite different career options such as engineering and science-related careers.

For the second client, the counsellor drew on his interest in learning as displayed by his favourable comments when he talked about the various courses he had been on throughout his life. In particular, the client talked favourably about the experiences of being involved in a course while he was in prison. This client also discussed his feelings about other courses he had attended while unemployed, some of which he talked more favourably about than others. The counsellor attempted to link the courses that the client expressed an interest in to possible job options.

10.2.6 Mobility

In both sessions the counsellor attempted to ascertain how physically mobile the clients were in terms of changing geographic location to gain work. Both clients appeared to be willing to move only to places where they had family that they could stay with. Both clients were currently living with family members and both clients were about to move towns for reasons related to the people they were living with. The first client was about to move to another family member living in another town, but was waiting for a few months because they had just had a new baby. The second client was about to move because the family members he was living with were about to move town.

10.2.7 Techniques Used

In both sessions two techniques were used. The first was an imagery technique where the clients were asked what they saw themselves doing in their short-, medium-, and long-term future. Included were questions about what they thought they would like in terms of possessions, in terms of jobs, in terms of further education or training. This technique seemed to be used intermittently throughout both sessions.

The counsellor asked the first client to imagine what he would want to be doing or to have when he was 25. This client wanted to eventually be his own boss and viewed work now as the first step towards this goal. He believed that paid employment now was needed to save money to start his own business. Yet, he did not articulate what kind of business he would like to have at this point. The counsellor drew on his work experience to explore what he liked and disliked doing, and suggested a few types of businesses that fitted his current work experience, in particular being involved in the hospitality industry. He had completed a bar course in Australia.

The second client visualised what he termed 'the ultimate job'; the job that he would like to have in the future. He would or could not say what the job was though. His imaginations focused on gaining employment to 'stabilise' himself, earn money and

therefore be able to see his son. However, these imaginings did not seem to be used in the later discussion of how he might 'get there'.

The second technique used was a two-phase card sort system. There were seven green cards in the first phase, each with a broad-level work-related interest theme. The words included outdoor, office, practical, people-centred, scientific, business, and creative. Throughout this phase the counsellor explained what each word meant, for example 'office' referred to whether the client would be interested in working in an office. For the first set of green cards the clients were asked to place each card along an imaginary continuum according to the level of interest that they felt. Once the clients had done this, the cards were removed and put aside by the counsellor. Two cards seemed to be ambiguous, for example 'business' referred to whether the person would be interested in working in motivational or leadership roles, and 'people-centred' referred to working for people, as opposed to working with people.

In the second phase the clients were given a set of purple cards. The purpose of this card sort was to help understand more specifically what work tasks clients would like to do. The purple-card set was too numerous to list here; however, examples include: car, money, sea. The clients were asked to distribute these cards in one of three piles of 'yes', 'no', 'perhaps'. Each heading referred to the level of importance or interest the words had to the client in terms of work. Once they had done this, the cards under the 'no' heading were removed. The remaining two piles of 'yes' and perhaps' were then sorted by the counsellor under the first continuum made by the green card categories. The chosen cards were then used as a basis to stimulate discussion on possible current and future job options by drawing on the clients 'interests' as expressed by the card sorts, their current work related experience, skills and education levels. Future orientations for work were also discussed. These discussions were based on linking current interests with future possibilities and discussions on whether there was a current skill or educational gap including a brief discussion on how these gaps might be filled. Each client's discussion will be briefly outlined below.

10.2.8 Discussing Current and Future Work Options

Client One appeared to be engaged in discussing current and future work options. He seemed interested in the range of possibilities suggested by the counsellor. This was a very 'busy' part of the session. Job possibilities were quickly offered and declined at a pace that I could not keep up with as an observer. These possibilities ranged from studying, to becoming an engineer, through to working in the hospitality industry, in particular bars, with the possibility of this leading to business ownership. For example, at one point there was a discussion on engineering based on the green card categories of 'scientific' and 'practical' and the purple cards of 'problem solving' and 'making things'. In this discussion the counsellor explained the many types of engineering work, the various educational options for each type and so on. Many jobs were discussed in this way. The client quickly dismissed many job options due to a lack of interest. Carpentry, for example, was dismissed because he had been advised by carpenters not to enter the trade. For each possible job or training option the counsellor suggested ways in which the client could begin to move towards achieving the option.

This phase for the second client was as 'busy' as it was for the first. Many jobs were linked to the interest cards and current skill set. The current skill set was based on the work experience and training the client had said he had done. However, this client repeatedly expressed that he did not have a 'choice' in gaining employment. He believed that the options were not open to him, and many of the jobs suggested he dismissed for one of three reasons. First, there were many jobs that did not interest him; for example, cleaning, tyre-fitting, jobs that he described as menial. The second reason he dismissed the suggestions was because he believed that certain types of jobs (e.g. forecourt attendant) were not suitable for someone who had been in prison. He expressed the concern that a 'criminal' would not be offered certain jobs, especially if there was public service contact, as in the forecourt example. He believed he would 'intimidate old ladies and children', either intentionally or unintentionally. He had strong views of his boundaries in this regard. The third reason he dismissed options was due to the training or education required. He often said throughout the session

that he did not have the time to train or educate, that he needed a job for money so he could see his son. He did express an interest in driving for a living. However he did not have a driving licence, and he could not afford to get one.

10.2.9 The Counsellor's Behaviour throughout the Sessions

The counsellor focused on what the clients said and how they said it. She continually praised the clients for their achievements to date in what appeared to be in a positive way. She broke down what they had done in terms of education and work experience into a series of generic and specific skills. Of particular interest to me is the fact that the counsellor never used the word 'career' in the sessions.

10.2.10 The Work Directions Report

After the sessions the counsellor wrote a "Work Directions Report" for each client. This report is part of the Department of Work and Income contract price. The report is sent to the client and their Department of Work and Income case manager. These reports follow a particular format that was negotiated between Department of Work and Income and Career Services *rapuara.* The format is meant to meet Department of Work and Income criteria as well as be presented in a way that is useful to the client. The following sections are included in the reports:

1. *Work Directions Report*: This section briefly described the clients' education and previous work experience.
2. *Agreed Job Choices:* This section lists short-, medium-, and long-term job choices. As part of the Department of Work and Income contract at least two short-term job options are required. This means work that the client can do.
3. *Job Match:* This section lists the client's skills and strengths, work and training preferences, and activities that might improve the client's chances of gaining work. The skills and strengths listed are task-orientated. The work preference list included personal information; for example, what types of tasks the client likes or dislikes, what type of environments the client would wish to work in, whether the client would be willing to do further training or education, and where the client would prefer to live. The list of skills and strengths seem to be created as an

outcome of both the client's CV, work experience and educational background. The list of preferences seems to be the outcome of the card sorts and discussions throughout the sessions. The list of activities appears to have been devised based on the discussions in the session.

4. *Occupational Information:* The client receives additional information about the job options. The type of information presented is sourced from *KiwiCareer.* The information about each occupation listed included: job market analysis, average industry turnover, types of tasks involved, technology used in the job, education and training requirements, gender composition of the industry, geographic concentration of the jobs, and composition of the workforce in terms of part-time, casual, or full-time employment. Each description is approximately one-half page and excludes details on average pay. However, this information is only listed in the Department of Work and Income copy of the report.
5. *Comments:* The counsellor made an assessment of the clients in terms of their willingness to work, the types of jobs they were likely to gain satisfaction from, and their desire to change their life and how employment might help achieve changes. There was a brief comment on what Department of Work and Income staff might do to help achieve employment, the possibility of and desire for further training, and what the client was 'reluctant' to do to help achieve work.
6. *Work Directions Plan:* This section described steps the client ought to engage in to help themselves find work. These were presented in a bullet point step-by-step guide. There were 17 and 16 bullet points for the first and second client respectively. Eleven of these statements were identical and a further point offered similar advice but had slight differences in wording. These points are summarised here:
    - read the material provided,
    - talk with people who work in the job options listed,
    - consider voluntary work to broaden skill levels,
    - include part-time, contract, and temporary work in job searches,
    - check the Situations Vacant in newspapers and ring promptly,

- check the Department of Work and Income job board and job vacancy computer at least twice a week,
- read the Yellow Pages (in the phone book) to determine possible employment settings, prepare and maintain a list of employers, make direct approaches, contact their personal manager, and drop off a CV,
- prepare for interviews,
- use family, church, sporting groups, and friends as networks for gaining employment,
- contact a specialist HR/personnel agency; and maintain a diary of job search activities.

10.2.11 Deconstructing the Guidance Session

The actual career guidance process and techniques used by the career counsellor were similar to those prescribed by Greenhaus and Callanan (1994). Clients were assisted in the tasks of self-exploration, exploring the labour market, and creating a career plan (as presented in Chapter Three). This process, while in one way serve the client's capacity to self reflect also provides information about the clients to the expert. These guidance sessions and the creation of the Works Directions Report also showed the application of disciplinary processes identified by Foucault (1977, 1976) and later extended upon by Rose (1989) (as discussed in Chapter Four). A judgement had been made by their case managers to send them to Career Services in the first instance. Thus, from the outset these clients had been judged 'abnormal' in terms of their ability to be self-reliant in finding employment. The first part of the sessions involved 'surveillance' in the form of soliciting information from the clients so they might identify the 'self' in terms of work values, interests, skills, abilities, and current and future life-style desires. This picture of the self was then used as the basis of identifying possible job options that the clients could do immediately and also as the basis of a developmental processes that they might engage in to gain their future stated life-style choices. These selves were 'inscribed' within the Work Direction Report, where the work interests, values, abilities and skills were recorded, along with an action plan that might lead to paid employment. This Work Direction Report also

provided the means for future examination of the clients if their case managers chose to do so.

The 'action-plan' component of the Work Directions reports offered a series of generic steps that the clients should follow to gain employment. It is these generic steps that indicate that the career guidance process, as purchased by the Department of Work and Income, upholds the current economic and political environment and the resulting employment context. Most notably, clients are generically advised to accept part-time, casual, and short-term forms of employment. They are also advised to perform voluntary work as a means to upgrade their skills. This generic advice also reflects Grey's (1994) argument that all aspects of one's life become consumed by 'career' considerations. Clients are advised use their family, church, and friends and so forth, to find employment, thus they become redefined as career resources.

The guidance session also upheld the power-knowledge relationships between these clients and the business sector, government, and Career Services *rapuara* more generally, by obscuring the political processes that created the current employment environment. Other information about the current employment environment was not discussed in the sessions. For example, there was no discussion about pay rates or the amount of money these clients might need to earn to improve their current living situations.

The situational observations were followed immediately with an interview with the clients. The themes of these interviews are presented in the following section.

10.3 Talking with the Clients

Semi-structured interview guides and conversation techniques were used in the post-observational interviews with the clients (Appendix 9.2). These interviews were conducted to gain an understanding of what they thought about their guidance session and career more generally. The themes of these interviews are presented in this section.

10.3.1 Defining Career

One client defined 'career' as "what you want to do with your life". The other client stated " I have always had a 'vision' of my own career. I have an ultimate job that I'd love to have one day. I know what it is". Both clients stated that they had not changed their view of career as a result of their guidance session.

10.3.2 'I don't have a Career'

While these two clients viewed career in a particular way, they stated that they did not have a career. They also believed that their previous work and educational experiences would not help them achieve a career. Their particular perspectives and experiences are discussed separately below.

10.3.2.1 Client One

The first client stated that he did not spend much time at school during the fifth and sixth form. Once he moved to Australia he chose to go back to school because he believed he needed an education to gain employment. He had completed a six-week bar course after he had left school with the intention that it would lead to employment. His work experience included various seasonal jobs, working in a warehouse and some bar work, including voluntary bar work to help gain experience and possible contacts to gain employment. In the two years since he had left school in Australia, he had been unemployed several times for two to three months each time. However, he stated that he did not believe that his education, including the bar course, or his work experience contributed to how he viewed career.

10.3.2.2 Client Two

The second client stated that he had been unemployed for 10 years and in that time had been sent on various courses by the Department of Work and Income and had completed some courses while in prison. However, he believed that these courses would not lead to employment or help him achieve his 'vision of career'. He also stated that he believed that people who had careers were of a certain "calibre" and that he "wasn't that kind of calibre". He defined 'calibre' as meaning "those people that

are in charge of themselves". He stated that for him to take charge of his life would require him to "work his way to the top".

10.3.2.3 We want a Job, We are the Other

These two clients reflected the views stated by the Career Services rapuara participants that some of their clients expressed interests in gaining employment or articulated themselves as the 'other'. Both these clients made reference to wanting to gain paid employment to achieve certain life goals. However, they both articulated themselves as the other. The second clients statement "I'm not of that calibre' when referring to people he perceived had a career indicated that he had ascribed and limited himself a particular position in the labour market that did not link to having a career.

10.3.3 Finding Work

The two clients described the activities that they had done to find work. While in Australia, the first client looked in newspapers and the Internet, and took his CV to possible employers. He was also registered with five different employment agencies but he described the agencies as 'hopeless'. He also used his friends as contacts to help him get work in bars, even though he had worked voluntarily as a 'fill-in' in some bars, this still had not led to paid work. The second client described how he had filled out applications to find work, but stated he never heard back from employers.

The first of the clients indicated that he already used many of the techniques to find employment that were listed in the Work Directions Report, yet, to no avail wither in Australia or New Zealand. The second client also had attempted to gain employment through application forms, but frequently stated that this never led to an interview.

10.3.4 Being Unemployed

I asked the clients how being unemployed affected their lives. The first client noted that being unemployed meant that he did not have enough money to do the type of things he would like to do. He stated that he had enough money to pay "some board here and there and buy some groceries". He was currently living with a family

member who owned his own home. When prompted, he did not believe that he could live independently in a flatting situation on the unemployment benefit. The low income affected his lifestyle in other ways too. For example, he noted that he did not go out as much as he used to, and that he was unable to save money. He believed that saving money would help him have a more secure financial future. The second client stated that being unemployed "had no impact on his life. It is the way my life is all the time".

10.3.5 Getting a Job

The clients believed that finding employment would improve their lives. The first client noted that the increased income would improve his current financial situation and help him save for his future. He also stated that the ability to save money would eventually help him to buy his own business and hence "become his own boss".

The second client made this statement without being prompted:

> My life would change if I were employed. I would have money. My life would be heaps better. I could get the things that I want. I would have an impact on my son. A job would stabilise me and I would be able to see my son. Employment would help my life.

10.3.6 The Career Guidance Session

Various questions were asked of the clients about how they perceived their guidance session. Their responses to these questions are presented in this section.

10.3.6.1 Choice or Compliance?

The first client noted that his case manager 'invited' him to attend his guidance session and that it was his choice to attend. He did not know what might have happened to him if he did not attend the session. In contrast the second client was very aware of the punishments associated with not attending the career session. He stated his case manager 'told me to go', and that if he did not go:

> My benefit would have been cut for either 13 or 26 weeks, I can't remember which one. Unless I had a good excuse, like being too sick to come. Having the benefit cut would suck.

The clients, however both stated that they were interested in coming to their session because they thought they might learn different perspectives on what they might do with regard to finding work. One stated that he hoped to get "helpful criticism, a little bit of guidance. I just see it as one of those things that had to be done". Thus, both stated that they believed that the session would help them gain employment.

10.3.6.2 The Guidance Session Process

As noted above, these sessions were similar in process including the use of the same techniques. However, the clients expressed very different views about the process and techniques used in the sessions.

The first client stated that he recognised that he was being taken through a process by the time the card-sort exercises were done. He understood that the process included establishing work ethics, interests, and that the card-sorts were used to help organise his ideas and interests, and to identify education and employment options. He thought the card sorts "were a good idea" as they helped him to "get things into perspective and organise his ideas".

The second client, in contrast, thought the card-sort method was "childish. They made me feel like a child". He also stated that he had been to similar sessions, and that he had "done things they told me to do" for example, enrol in courses, but "they didn't lead to work". He also thought that the visualisation technique was "no good because nothing will happen until you do it".

10.3.6.3 The Outcome

The clients had differing views of the usefulness of their guidance session. The first client believed that many of the suggestions made during the session were ideas that he already had, but the session enabled him to view some of the options more seriously, for example, the prospect of engineering. As he put it:

> Basically all the ideas [the counsellor] wrote down have just been floating around. Should I do this, should I do that? And the session sort of helped me organise it a bit, organise the ideas properly.

The second client stated that he thought the process was irrelevant. As he stated:

> I know I can do a lot of things. But it is up to the employer, whether they take that person on or not. That is the hardest part. You are fine when you get face to face to talk to the employer and let them know what you can do. Before that it is the hardest part. Until you get face to face it is no good. I keep filling out applications – doing the first part. But I don't get to the employer. I hate it.

Thus, for this client, the process seemed to be irrelevant to his situation. He articulated his situation by drawing upon barriers to employment, for example, his inability to gain interviews from application forms, his criminal record and imprisonment, and his perceived threatening appearance. The following section presents the post-observational interviews with the consultant.

10.4 Talking with the Consultant

As with the client interviews, the consultant interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide (Appendix 9.3) as well as using conversational techniques to draw upon issues in the observed sessions. The interviews followed a thematic format. These themes are presented here. Individual differences in the consultant's perception of each session will be noted within the appropriate subsections.

10.4.1 Using the Term 'Career'

The consultant defined how she viewed 'career' as incorporating all of the aspects of life including paid and unpaid work, leisure and study, and how a person shapes these aspects of their life. When prompted, she explained that the Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation had a different perspective. She noted that Department of Work and Income used the terms 'career' and 'career planning', yet they wanted their clients to gain employment rather than pursue a developmental approach to their future career aspirations. On the other hand, she noted that the Accident Compensation Corporation used the term 'vocational assessment', with the goal of finding alternative work that their clients were physically capable of doing. Thus, she noted that there are conflicting goals between Career Services *rapuara* and these organisations. She stated how she reconciled these goals:

> I guess I see that if that is the means by which a client comes to know who we are and how they can access information, then that is how it is, and that is good. Because we are not well known, and people don't think about going to see a career consultant, it's not part of the psyche of work or whatever. People sort of trundle along and do it themselves. So if it increases our profile in some way, or encourages a person, say they might have been referred to by Department of Work and Income in 2001, but in 2005 they might hark back to that and it might have an impact upon how they see themselves, or how they start to develop their ideas, or where they get their information from. So I suppose it's kind of like a bit of a sacrifice. That's how I reconcile that, because that's getting accessibility of service and that's how the government wants it at the moment, it's agencies like Department of Work and Income direct purchasing. So it's set up like that. I suppose it's a bit of so-be-it, sort of stuff.

One noticeable observation was that the consultant did not use the term 'career' throughout the guidance sessions. She gave a very clear reason for not using the word in her sessions:

> Because people have different perceptions of what 'career' is. And for many people 'career' is a really threatening term, in that it means that 'career' means somebody is a lawyer or a doctor whose gone to university and has thought about the future and where they are heading and very, very focused and directional about it. And I don't want any of that to come across in what we do. So that is a very deliberate non-use of the word because of the connotations that people have. And because I don't think that what we are doing, we are not necessarily steering people solely to training or to have a professional hat on.

When prompted, she described what she thought the two clients meant by the term 'career'. She thought the first client had a future orientation towards career development, but still saw career as being linked to paid employment. She thought that the second client also viewed career in terms of paid work, but she believed that "if given half the chance, he would start to think of it in terms of longer-term development and thinking ahead and skill extension". She noted that these perceptions of how the clients viewed career in part informed how she managed the guidance sessions.

10.4.2 Were these Typical Sessions?

The consultant believed that a number of aspects of the two sessions were typical of Department of Work and Income sessions more generally. First, she noted that these

two clients were sent to Career Services *rapuara* but were unsure of why they had been sent, or what they might get out of a career guidance session. From her experience she estimated about 70% of the Department of Work and Income clients were unclear as to why they were sent to Career Services *rapuara*. This meant that these clients usually did not know what to expect from a career guidance session, what the sessions involved, or what the outcomes might mean for them personally. As a result such clients were typically unprepared for the session in terms of knowing what questions to ask, had not thought about what their career aspirations are, and were unsure how the session might link to their current and future work opportunities. Thus in this respect, the two clients were typical in that they were sent by their Department of Work and Income Case Manager, did not know why they had been sent, were unclear about the purpose of the session, had not prepared themselves with questions, and appeared to not have considered their career aspirations prior to coming. The second client had very little work experience and education, and this was seen as typical of Department of Work and Income clients.

In contrast, this consultant noted that individual fee-paying clients, Accident Compensation Corporation clients, Direct Government Purchase clients, and school students were more likely to know what Career Services *rapuara* offers, and how its services might help them achieve their goals. Thus, these clients typically came prepared with questions relating to their personal career aspirations.

10.4.3 Directing the Sessions

The Department of Work and Income contract with this Career Branch requires that at least two immediate job options be identified as an outcome of the guidance session. The consultant stated that this impacts upon the type of work that can be achieved within the one-and-a-half hour allocation of the guidance process, and that these sessions are structured and directed to meet contractual arrangements rather than driven by client interests. Thus, the consultant noted, she takes more of a business-like approach in the Department of Work and Income and Accident Compensation Corporation work.

The consultant stated that in the two sessions observed, less time was spent on exploring the clients' work interests because Department of Work and Income are concerned about the clients obtaining employment and 'getting off their books' (in other words, no longer in receipt of unemployment benefits). However, the consultant also noted that there is room for discretion within the timeframe to explore what clients might like to do in their future. She noted that both these clients appeared to have an interest in developing future work options and that she tried to draw out these interests.

She also stated that the first client was not typical of most people she sees in that he had thought about his future a 'little bit', yet, he still was not prepared for the guidance session as discussed in Section 10.4.2. As she put it:

> I think the client today was an example of a client who was thinking a little bit ahead into the future. He had two branches there, the here and now the bread and butter stuff. But he was thinking very much into the future, so I think he still was seeing career as paid work over study, he didn't see it as other areas. But he was certainly looking into the future rather than the 'just for now'. I found that quite refreshing and quite good, quite nice to deal with. But at the same time I was really aware with the notes that I took that I wasn't doing too much of the here and now. But I think that will be OK because the Case Manager is now referring knowing that 'this person needs to think about where they are going' and putting value on to some of that service.

10.4.3.1 Directing the First Client

The first client stated that he wanted to own his own business one day. The consultant stated that she tried to draw upon this aspiration to explore possible business ventures that linked to his current interests (as identified in the card-sorts), past work experience, and possible future education and training options. The consultant also noted that she had not fulfilled the terms of the contract with this client as only one job option had been identified in the session. However, she said she thought she could 'get away with it', but also commented that Department of Work and Income could refuse to pay because of this.

10.4.3.2 Directing the Second Client

The consultant stated that she deliberately attempted to guide the second client because she believed he 'had a lot more potential' and that she tried to draw some of that potential out by guiding him to think of his future aspirations. As she described the situation:

> When we first started I took him pretty much at face value and thinking that we would go with the immediate stuff that he just wanted to get a job and get his life settled a wee bit. But it was a deliberate attempt on my part to try and awaken, or give him permission even, to dream. Without putting too much on to him, without too much expectation, or 'shoulding' on him, that he ought to. But I was trying to give him the freedom to think a little bit further ahead if he was able to. And the possibilities of that. And even if he wasn't able to there, that he might think back on that session one day and some of the possibilities of that. Even if he wasn't able to there he might think back on that session one day, and some of it might fall into place. I was really pleased with his comment he said...I asked the question the wrong way, so I got what I deserved, but I said...first he said he had some goals and dreams or something, and I said 'do you want to share those with me' and he said 'no'. So I phrased it the wrong way. But I was still really happy with the answer because there is something going on there for that guy. So I felt really good about that.

The consultant noted that if she had understood this aspiration, she might have been able to work out with the client how to achieve it. However, she felt that this client's immediate concern was to find employment and 'get his life in order a wee bit'. This was because he frequently stated throughout the session he needed a job so that he could see his son.

10.4.4 Techniques

The consultant used the same techniques with both clients as noted in Section 10.2. She explained that she had particular reasons for choosing the green and purple cards-sorts, and card-sorts more generally.

> I choose the green set because it's at a macro level.... It helps the client to start at a macro level and start identifying some themes about themselves. So I really like that green one. It's based on John Holland's work - he did research in all of this sort of stuff.
>
> The purple set gives some details to the green set but it is still 'wishy-washy' enough, I hope, not to eliminate some possibilities, although I know that can occur. And also the purple card sort we used is very simplistic in its language and sometimes if a client is not good with English or

> comprehension you need to be aware of that for some of the card sorts that we use.
>
> I suppose I would like to say that I think [card-sorts] are a very effective way of working with clients, rather than a question and answer type thing, or the written assessments, or computer-based assessments. I really like card sorts because they are tactile, you can quickly shift things together you can build associations. The client has got it laid out in front of them, they don't have to remember a whole lot of ideas, which most people can't. It's a really neat way of getting ideas going and to get to know your client really quickly. Even if the person had presented and said I want to be a midwife or nurse or whatever, we would go with that and explore that. But then I might say to them, just to be sure how about doing a couple of exercises just to see what else is there, and something quite amazing might come out of that. They might put horses down there ... 'tell me about this'. And before you know it, there is a whole story behind that and some other ideas come out of that. I would never have thought to ask a person about 'horses' if they wanted to do midwifery. So it's a really quick, client-centered way. The client has some control. They don't feel that they are being talked at or interrogated.

10.4.4.1 Techniques and the First Client

This first client stated in his guidance session that he was open to either moving into immediate employment or enrolling in tertiary education. The consultant chose the green card sort for this client because it was flexible enough to enable some of the ideas discussed in the session to be clarified and not restrict the client to employment or occupations. As the consultant put it:

> It was flexible enough not to cancel out possible ideas.... Whereas some of the other card sorts that I have in my bag, I carry round about seven or eight sets of different stuff... An occupation card sort for this client would have been too defined I felt, and it wouldn't have given us that little bit of flexibility, because he had said he didn't necessarily want to do training. That purple card sort gave me that flexibility. Whereas if I had used the occupational card sort that would have concentrated quite a lot on non-training stuff, and I wasn't prepared to do that. If he had said categorically 'I'm going to have a qualification, I want a degree to hang on the wall. The status of that is incredibly important to me', I probably would have gone with the occupational card sort. And some of that is tailored by the ability of the client to articulate and comprehend English.

The consultant used the technique of visualisation with this client because she "hoped he was old enough to think into the future a wee bit". She noted that visualisation was not always possible with teenagers because they "can't think two years ahead, they're just not there yet".

10.4.4.2 Techniques and the Second Client

The consultant drew on this client's statement of wanting to find a job and her belief that everyone has preferences to what they will do and what they are not prepared to do. Thus she explained the use of the green and purple card sorts with this client:

> He was so keen to get a job, any job will do just get me a job. And that is a wonderful spirit to have but further down the track it might not be if he ends up doing something he loathes. So I wanted to try and help him define where some of his preferences were. When we did the green card sort, that wasn't all that successful, except that I found out that he didn't want to work in an office, and that was OK. Then we did the purple card sort, when he started doing that I thought 'oh no, this isn't going to work'. And I was sitting there thinking OK, I let him finish because I never stop someone once they start. But I was sitting there thinking OK, when he finishes this 'what am I going to do next?' And I was thinking about the other card sorts that I had and other question techniques that I could use, and I was starting to think 'Oh Shit. What am I going to do now?' It doesn't happen very often but it has happened before. Anyway, as he got into it and started to go through it a bit, he did start making decisions and was a bit discriminating, so I was relieved. You know people say often that they will do anything, but they won't. There is no one on this earth who will do anything, each of us has parameters about what we will do, what we are prepared to do and what we can do. Thank goodness we started to get somewhere there. He was kind of doing it pretty much for the now, and that was all right, but when we started to talk I felt quite good that we could draw out some of the longer-term things. That's when the tech-drawing comment came out. That was fantastic to reveal that. Perhaps some of the unease or disquiet that he had about being rejected at polytechnic and the label that he had put on himself 'I'm a 'crim', and that's the end of the story for the rest of my life, I'm a failure because I can't get into the polytechnic and I'm a crim'. I was keen to try and turn that around. To help him, to say well that is in the past you can't change the past, you have got a criminal record, but this is not necessarily your future.

This client visualised access to his son, and he stated paid employment was a requirement for him to achieve this goal. Thus he stated that he had to show that he had settled down. However, the consultant's attempts to get the client to disclose how he saw himself in the future were unsuccessful. As noted above, he stated he had a goal in mind, but did not want to talk about it. When asked whether she found these situations difficult she responded by saying:

> No, because I'm really aware that we could be seen as people who are pushing training or who want to box people, or if you want to be a quantity surveyor this is what you have to do, end of story, full stop. And because I have been to university that doesn't mean every other person has to go to university to achieve their dream or any training for that matter, but it's

> about helping the person identify what it is they want. And if they hold back that is their choice. My responsibility is to help the client as much as they want and to give them that freedom to do that. If they decide to hold back then it is their choice. I'm not in control; I am a facilitator in many respects.

As already discussed, these techniques reflected the disciplinary process defined by Foucault (1977) and Rose (1989) whereby clients were subjected to hierarchical observation and normalising judgments leading to the potential for further examination (this discussion will not be repeated here).

10.4.5 Addressing Perceived Boundaries

The second client frequently refereed to barriers to gaining employment. These barriers included having a criminal record, the belief that he was intimidating, his lack of financial resources, and his dislike of failure and criticism. When asked what her view of his perceived boundaries were, she replied:

> His whole communication style is not intimidating. He didn't give me the creeps, he didn't make me feel frightened for my own safety, and he had a very nice communication style. I think what he was referring to was his tattoos. And the forecourt industry used to be so anti tats. They wouldn't touch anybody with tats, and the ring in his nose, whether he would be prepared to take that out or not I don't know. I left it because he has got a lot of tats, and to remove that amount of tattoos would be pretty hard work, if he choose to. I wondered if he was clouding the real answer, I can't quite work out his ethnicity or under which culture he has been brought up. I would have liked to have known that. Because what he might have been doing was a smoke screen and saying 'I'm intimidating'. But really he might have been thinking 'I don't want to do that, I don't want to tell you because you are the authority here and I need to agree with what you say'. Particularly if he had come from a Maori background. So I decided not to take that one much further. If it was a smoke screen I thought he could have chosen something not quite so revealing as that. But the thing that we were talking about was a lot of customer service stuff anyway, and being realistic his background of what he told me, I think he would have had trouble getting into a customer service sector type job anyway. So there wasn't a lot of point in going with it...

This respondent did not have a driver's license and he stated he did not have the funds to get one. He believed that this prevented him from applying for many types of work. The consultant's response was to suggest he discuss this with his Department of Work and Income case manager to see if he could get a special grant to pay for the licensing fee. He stated that his dislike of criticism prevented him from enrolling in

training or further educational courses. He had applied for a course in the past and was not successful. The consultant attempted to explain that he might have had a gap in his education, and that if he filled that gap, he might be successful in the future. In this situation, the client appeared to have a greater understanding of his actual barriers to gaining employment. These barriers are not encapsulated within the contemporary career discourse. Instead this discourse only draws on past life experiences as building blocks to create a new career trajectory, never in terms of existing career blocks.

10.4.6 Meeting the Session Objectives

This section presents the consultants view on how well these guidance sessions achieved the aims set for them by herself as the counsellor, by the Department of Work and Income, and by government generally. These objectives are discussed below.

10.4.6.1 Meeting the Consultants Objectives

The consultant stated that her general goals for each session were that she wanted to assist clients by giving them 'some kind of value' by:

> Assisting them in making some kind of next step, whatever that might be. So once I sit down with the client and find out where they are at.... I hope that by the end of the session they are feeling more positive, armed with more information, more confident about the next steps that they have to take, have clarified some of their options.

She believed that her goals for the two clients were met. She stated that for the first client they covered ideas to explore. However, she hoped that he would get the support from Department of Work and Income and that he had the motivation to continue to explore the various possibilities that were discussed in the session. For the second client she stated that:

> I hoped that this session gives this client some confidence and ability to go on to go further. I didn't want to get into the situation to tell him that he should study but I just felt that there was a little something there that was important to open up a wee bit. If it did that then I would be really pleased.

10.4.6.2 Meeting Department of Work and Income Objectives

The consultant noted that she did not meet the requirement to provide two immediate job options for the first client but did meet this requirement for the second client. She did not know what became of the clients after their guidance session. Thus she was unable to comment about whether these clients, or any of the clients she saw from Department of Work and Income, actually moved into employment within the expected three months after the career guidance session. She had this to say:

> Department of Work and Income monitor whether clients gain employment. But they are after an immediate outcome, so it is not monitored in terms of a year or five years later. So I think as far as they are concerned, they think our outcomes are pretty pathetic in terms of getting somebody of the register within three months, which is what they are looking for. But they have come to understand that this process is not necessarily that, so there is a lot more tolerance of the fact that career planning is more futuristic rather than immediate.

However, despite believing that there is more tolerance, the consultant did not believe that the Department of Work and Income case managers thought about how a career planning session might benefit the client. That is, she believed that the case managers referred clients with the view of them gaining employment, and did not think about how a career planning session might help them develop future career goals.

10.4.6.3 Meeting the Government Objectives

The government objective of achieving education and labour market policy through the provision of career services was discussed in Chapter Eight. Governments of the previous 12 years have expressed an interest in helping citizens to become 'self-steering' in the labour market, and thus learn how to keep themselves employed or employable. I asked the consultant whether she believed that the provision of career services could achieve government goals in light of the current economic climate characterised by unemployment. This was her response:

> I guess if we are able to create the dream and be involved in that upskilling or helping people reach their dreams then it is more likely to happen. Because there is a shift in the labour market and job requirements and the type of skills the labour market is requiring over-time, from 20 years ago say. If we can be part of that awareness-raising in people in that 'this set of skills is not marketable, but this set of skills is, and you can transfer them to over here, but if you update this little bit here, you will become more of a marketable commodity. Then I think that is valuable. And some of the

> messages that we keep hearing is that there are labour shortages in various areas so yes, perhaps we don't have enough jobs to go around, but if we can shift the dial around a bit perhaps we can move it out a bit.

I then asked the consultant whether she thought the government ought to take a more serious role in how people who are seeking work are treated within New Zealand, and how services are provided to these people. Her initial response was to decline answering the question. She then rephrased the question and answered this question as follows:

> Do I think the government should take more responsibility in the career development of the nation? Then yes I do. I think turning it into a fee-paying situation makes it very difficult. That people think about going to the doctor or dentist, and getting their eyes done because they have to, and it may be a struggle to pay for it, but it is kind of a reasonably high priority. Thinking about yourself as a commodity, your shelf life, and how you are going to support yourself, however that might be, whatever shape that takes, is also pretty important. Within the broad perspective of career, I'm not just talking work, so if people can't pay for it, which they probably can't, and the government is serious about people understanding their place in the labour market. Then I think more emphasis needs to be put on it [career service provision]. Because it [the labour market] has changed so much in the last 15 years. It changes without people realizing, or the change is taken with a knee-jerk reaction. Like the term 'redundancy' in the 1970s and 1980s sent shudders up people's spine and it doesn't necessarily have to be like that. If you think about yourself in a different package to what people thought of themselves in the 1950s, 1960s and early 70s, as workers.

Thus, like many of the respondents interviewed, this consultant believed that through career management and development processes, individuals could learn to become self-steering, and as a result of this, remain in employment. The following section presents comments made by this consultant some six months after these interviews took place.

10.5 Postscript

Several months after I had interviewed this consultant, she enrolled in a university course that I taught. As part of this course we critically review the context of New Zealand in terms of the changes that have occurred since 1984, and the implications of these changes for individuals to manage themselves in terms of pursuing particular employment paths. As part of the assessment for this course, students maintain a

diary or learning log, documenting their personal learning experiences. She made two pertinent entries in her journals that express her changing perspective with regard to her role as a guidance counselor in light of the wider socio-political and economic context within New Zealand. She gave permission to include these entries in the doctoral thesis. The first entry of interest is as follows:

> The preceding discussions in class about the casualisation of women's work, under- and over-employment have led me to think about my purchasing power and my ability to endeavour to have some impact on employment trends. I am motivated by a bargain and am fairly thrifty with money. So cheaper products at The Warehouse appeal to me even if they do not last as long as more expensive products because their time in use compared to their purchasing price still probably makes them cheaper. However I wonder about the impact of these chains on the New Zealand economy and the labour force. Will New Zealand companies such as Hannahs and the small business owner survive? Many small town retailers say they have been forced out of business once The Warehouse comes to town, for example Kaitaia. The Warehouse and Hubbards Breakfast Cereals are members of Businesses for Social Responsibility. They say that they are in business to better communities not just for profit. How can this be when The Warehouse imports goods made by underpaid employees?
>
> I have always been interested in Charles Handy's Shamrock model of the way jobs are now either full time/permanent, contractual or part time/temporary. I believed this to be a good model of the world of work. While it may be a reflection of work, can this work pattern be justified? I used to think that we should accept it and work with it because we, like products on the market, have to perform in the same manner to gain a competitive edge. The recent lectures have given me a bigger picture of the wider forces at work in shaping employment.
>
> When I worked at New Zealand Employment Service in the early 1990s we were sold the idea that job seekers were lazy and could get a job if they really wanted to. I swallowed this concept for a while until outside agencies and this course got me thinking about how work is shaped. At New Zealand Employment Service we encouraged and coerced people into work. The attitude of Employment Advisors then and some case managers at Department of Work and Income now was/is that the unemployed bring some of their situation upon themselves. The culture of this organisation supports this in the way that clients are treated and the messages that come down from the top. How much more healthy it would be to have a government department that understood the wider picture.

In another entry she had this to say:

> The discussions on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action have really interested me because they have jolted my thinking about these policies. I used to think that such polices were demonstrating a real

> commitment by many organisations to equity. Now I understand that they have only made a commitment to equality. I felt good about my employer in the 1970s and 1980s encouraging me and other women to attend regular Women's Network meetings and to participate in the Tall Poppies Career Development Programme for Women (which did actually get me thinking about myself and career in the wider sense). Now I feel disenchanted with this Liberal Feminist view of the world because it has failed to change the status of women in many respects.
>
> I realise that I am no longer happy with the liberal approach, that equality will no longer do. We are not on a level playing field and I do not aspire to the same goals as men perhaps do. My experience of the unpaid workforce, part time employment status (or lack of), the guilt of a working mother and trying to be a superwoman have shown me that my needs are indeed different and that the current employment system does not allow me to live fully in all these roles.
>
> The conflict between Capitalism and Democracy is clear. Capitalism does not equate to fairness. The feminisation of the workforce in the name of efficiency feels like a slap in the face. I am ashamed to have been part of this 'speak' when I have talked to young women about career models and projections and in my practice as a Career Consultant when I have sold the positives of this system to some of my clients. Women have been lulled into the Liberal view that equality has arrived, that we now have the flexible work patterns that we so desired and that the System values what we have been socialised into believing we do so well.
>
> I do not want to be 'screwed' by the Capitalist system and I do not want to be part of a global system whereby I achieve my goals by jumping off the backs of disenfranchised peoples. However I am feeling unsure as to what the solutions might be. I realise that I can be very influential in my job but at times I feel like a small cog in a huge wheel. The tasks of social change seem as huge as they did when I was an idealistic and more energetic undergraduate.

Thus, in retrospect, this consultant began to take a different perspective of what she does in relation to the wider socio-political and economic environment within New Zealand. These comments will be drawn upon in the final chapter of this thesis. The following section however, briefly concludes this chapter.

10.6 Concluding Thoughts

The two career guidance sessions observed as presented here illustrate what might be expected from a career guidance session. The processes of the sessions mirror those discussed by career theorists (as presented in Chapter Three). The post-observational

interviews, however, highlighted that this process can have very different outcomes for clients. The two clients observed differed in age, background, work experience, and life experiences. They expressed different needs with regard to finding employment. The first client did not refer to barriers preventing employment. In contrast, the second client perceived that he had many barriers to gaining employment. The consultant perceived the outcome of the sessions differently from the clients. She stated that she believed that both clients had potential and that she hoped she helped them to see that potential, yet she initially did not link their circumstances to wider socio-political and economic environment of New Zealand. However, as noted in her learning logs, she began to think about the wider environment in relation to herself, and those that she worked with. The next chapter discusses the findings presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten by drawing on the theoretical perspectives of Foucault, Rose and Deetz (as presented in Chapter Four).

These observations and post-observation interviews illustrated that discipline is embedded in the career guidance session. Clear objectives were set for these two clients by the Department of Work and Income, that of gaining employment. The guidance processes was facilitated with this primary goal in mind. Yet, little attention was drawn to wider socio-political issues that have shaped the nature and conditions of work in the past twenty years in New Zealand. Rather the premise was that we can all have a career if we know how to access the right information, make the right adjustments to ourselves, and produce an appropriate plan of action. Such a view seemingly dismisses the actual and perceived barriers to employment expressed by these two clients. The next chapter discusses the findings as presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and ten.

Chapter Eleven
Discussion

11.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the theoretical arguments as presented in Chapters Two, Three, and Four with the research findings as presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten. In Chapter Two it was argued that in the two decades beginning from the early 1980s political, economic, and cultural processes indicate a concerted effort to globalise neo-liberalism. Multinational institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank), regional trading blocks (e.g. North American Free Trade Agreement, and the European Union), nation states including New Zealand, and multinational companies have pursued or have had imposed on them, a global free-trade agenda. However, this agenda has not been applied evenly. The United States and the European Union member nations, for example, continue to subsidise their own industries while pressuring other (less powerful) nations to open up borders, reduce subsidies, and restructure their economies according to a neo-liberal programme. Thus, many nations have privatised state assets, created political, economic and legal environments that favour free trade and in some instances, privilege multinational companies over their own citizens.

Under this regime, income and employment have been unevenly redistributed globally. Contradictory trends of heightened wealth for some and increased poverty for others have been noted in many nations. Organisation-level restructuring, downsizing and relocation throughout the 1980s and 1990s have impacted upon the structure, nature and conditions of paid employment. Thus there are international trends associated with over-, under-, and unemployment, diminishing working conditions and reduced job security. Contemporary career theorists have been implicated in both bringing about and consolidating these changes. Hall's (1976) early work, for example, argued that individuals would need to rethink career in the years to come. However, by the late 1980s, changes to work have been drawn upon

by contemporary career theorists as the impetus to redefine what it means to have a career. They have offered practical steps on how to plan a career in the increasingly turbulent employment environment, characterised by globalisation and increased pressure to achieve organisational and labour 'flexibility'. Typically, these theorists argue that individuals need to change themselves to fit into this new world of work, and by doing so, will have successful and fulfilling careers.

In Chapter Four, contemporary career management and development discourse, theory and practice were re-interpreted from their generally functional representation in the professional and self-help genres and much of the academic writing by using the more critical and post-structural contributions of Foucault (1977), Rose (1989) and Deetz (1992). Drawing on their respective analyses it was argued that contemporary career discourse, theory and practices can be conceived of as providing an extension of the disciplinary apparatus and as a mechanism used to facilitate de-institutionalisation and colonisation of the life world.

The focus of this chapter is to discuss the material presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten by drawing upon the theoretical themes presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. This chapter is divided into six sections. Section 11.2 summarises the political, economic and social changes that have occurred in New Zealand in the two decades from the early 1980s as presented throughout the thesis. Section 11.3 discusses the parallels and discontinuities between contemporary career management and development discourse, theories and practices (as discussed in Chapter Three) with the expressed views of 'career' as evident in the documents, interview scripts and observations as presented in Chapter Eight, Nine and Ten. Section 11.4 reviews the programmes, practices and services of Career Services *rapuara* and suggests that the agency provides a functional service that may help New Zealanders understand changes to employment and how they might prepare themselves for work. Section 11.5 draws on the theoretical position of Rose and Foucault to examine the extent to which the government-funded career service provision in New Zealand disciplines populations to meet government-set priorities and/or individual human career

aspirations. Section 11.6 builds upon the work of Deetz and suggests that the complex apparatus associated with 'career' supports the de-institutionalisation and colonisation of the life world. Thus, global cultural changes consistent with wider political and economic changes associated with neo-liberalism may be facilitated and achieved by acting upon individuals' day-to-day understandings of 'career'. Section 11.7 briefly concludes this chapter.

11.2 Putting New Zealand into Context

Throughout Chapters Two and Three it was argued that successive New Zealand governments since 1984 to 1999 have sought to embrace a neo-liberal ideology. In 1999, the in-coming Labour-led Government promised to manage and govern New Zealand based on 'Third Way' principles. Government held that a Third Way approach would address the growing economic and participative disparities evident in New Zealand since the adoption of neo-liberalism. However, under Third Way politics, there is still a commitment to global free-trade, and the reduction of direct government involvement in the delivery of services where it is assumed that the market or community sector can and should provide. Thus, since 1984 and to the present time, successive governments have continued to emphasise deregulation of the New Zealand economy. Moreover, by the 1990s, these governments embraced wider political and economic agenda for New Zealand of creating the conditions of globalisation through continued free-trade negotiations and agreements. Within this political and economic framework there has been particular emphasis on developing notions of individualism within New Zealand. Thus New Zealanders have had to embrace the notion of providing for personal and family welfare through participation in paid employment.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, New Zealand governments have transformed the economy from Keynesian-styled management to a market-driven economy. Initially this process was deemed necessary to enable New Zealand to respond to the economic crisis that had developed during the 1970s. By the 1990s, it was argued that continued restructuring was necessary in order for New Zealand to be economically competitive

in an increasingly global market. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the deregulation of the New Zealand economy has included reducing and removing trade tariffs and subsidies, selling state-owned assets, creating State Owned Enterprises that were to be managed by applying profit motives of business, reducing public spending on welfare provision, and transforming the labour market. In 1991, the National Government introduced more stringent social welfare policies including reduced welfare payments and transfer payments affecting the unemployed, solo parents, tertiary students, sickness and invalid beneficiaries, and the elderly. Welfare payment were deemed necessary to encourage beneficiaries to seek paid employment. The labour market was deregulated with the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act, 1991.

The deregulation of the New Zealand economy over the last two decades has affected the nature and conditions of employment and the state provision of social services. Similar to international trends, New Zealand has experienced the contradictory patterns of over-, under-, and unemployment, and increased forms of labour flexibility including casualisation, part-time work, and short-term contracts. Deteriorating employment conditions have resulted in decreased job security and downward pressure on wages for many; yet, there has also been improved salaries for a smaller, more privileged group of New Zealanders.

Successive governments have also argued that citizens need to review their responsibility to themselves and their families. Thus, governments have argued that it is an individual and not a state responsibility to provide for personal and family well-being. Individual responsibility has been deemed to include providing for personal well-being through attachment to the labour market. State responsibility has been redefined as providing minimal assistance that in part, has been designed to encourage individuals to seek paid employment.

The government's political and economic objectives of creating a market economy and entering the global market, and the social goals of increasing individual

responsibility for welfare provision were deemed to require a cultural shift within New Zealand. New Zealanders were required to learn that the employment environment had changed significantly from one characterised by secure full-time employment to one characterised by insecure and more 'flexible' work arrangements. They needed to learn how to take greater personal responsibility for ensuring their own employability within this environment. It was argued that New Zealanders could learn these lessons by transforming their understandings and expectations with regard to employment and career, and their personal role in transforming themselves to gain and remain in paid employment.

Since 1990, successive New Zealand governments have attempted to create an institutional framework complete with a central agency to help New Zealanders understand workplace change, and their individual responsibility to maintain employability within the new economic climate by drawing upon a particular construct of 'career'. This institutional framework currently includes the Ministry of Education, the Department of Work and Income, Accident Compensation Corporation, schools, the Department of Pacific Development, Te Puni Korkiri (the Department of Maori Affairs), and the central agency being Career Services *rapuara* (as discussed in Chapter Eight). Successive governments have charged Career Services *rapuara* to facilitate the achievement of their education, training, labour market, and more recently, social goals through the provision of careers information and advice, and targeted career guidance. Targeted guidance has focused on groups who have been the most disenfranchised by the changes to employment. Over the last 10 years targeted guidance has come to include adults made redundant, long-term unemployed, solo-parents, accident insurance claimants, 'at risk youth', newly released prisoners, and Maori and Pacific Island peoples. The purpose of targeted guidance is to make visible the links between education, training, and transferable skills and entering paid employment. School students have also been targeted for career intervention to ensure they understand the linkages between their educational choices and their future employment opportunities. The following section discusses the parallels and discontinuities between contemporary career discourse, theory and

practice (as discussed in Chapter Three) with the empirical material gathered from the documents, interviews and observations (as presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten).

11.3 Discerning Parallels and Discontinuities

Parallels and discontinuities can be discerned between contemporary career discourse, theory and practice with the reports establishing Career Services *rapuara*, Career Services *rapuara* internal documents and reports, and the interview material and observations.

11.3.1 Embracing Contemporary Career Discourse and Theory

A number of parallels and discontinuities are discernible between contemporary career discourse and theory with the understanding of 'career' as presented in the written material and interviews drawn on in this thesis. These include recognition that work and 'career' has changed, individuals are responsible for planning their own career, and that benefits will arise from well-managed careers.

11.3.1.1 Changing Work

Similar to contemporary career discourse, the Working Group on the Provision of Guidance (1989), the Career Information and Guidance Report (1995) (CIG), and Career Services *rapuara* internal written material (e.g. their statements of intent, the annual reports, and strategic plans) recognise that stable, secure, and lifelong employment with one employer or organisation are no longer sustainable. Instead, work is characterised by increased forms of flexible employment arrangements, redundancy, and moves between employers. The CIG report, for example noted that individuals can expect job and career changes as the "future employment market is likely to provide the worker with more flexible work hours and locations" (p. 22). Contemporary career theorists and the New Zealand reports reviewed in hapter Eight draw attention to increased international competition, flexibility, technological changes, and more recently, globalisation as causes of these changes to work. Indeed, Doczi's (1999) commissioned report on strategic opportunities for Career Services *rapuara* draws upon the early work of Handy (1989) to provide support for her

argument that the nature and practice of work has changed as a result of these same factors.

There is no mention by the popular contemporary career theorists, nor within the documents reviewed in Chapter Eight, or by the Career Services *rapuara* staff interviewed about the political, economic or legal changes of the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, no connections are made between government-imposed political, economic, and legal changes, with the influence of business interests, to reshape or relocate work in order to become more competitive relative to global and local firms.

One of the clients of Career Services *rapuara* who participated in the observed situations and interviews, made a clear connection between his current circumstances and recent political arrangements between Australia and New Zealand. This respondent had moved to Australia with his parents while he was still at school. He was unable to find employment in Australia and was no longer eligible for the unemployment welfare payment. His return to New Zealand was based on this factor alone. Neither of the two clients in the observed situations located their current unemployment status in the wider changes in work made possible through deregulated economies.

11.3.1.2 Changing 'Career'

Contemporary career theorists (e.g. Greenhaus et al., 1994; Hall & Associates, 1996) offer new definitions and descriptions of 'career', both facilitating and consolidating change to the way employment is to be conceived and manifested in practice. Typical of these is one provided by Greenhaus et al. (1994) who define career as "*the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life* (p. 5, emphasis in the original). Similarly (and almost 20 years earlier), Hall (1976) deemed career to consist of "all the person's varied experiences in education, training, work in several organizations, changes in occupational field etc" (p. 201).

The government reports and the Career Services *rapuara* internal written material reviewed in Chapter Eight did not define career. However, many of these documents

and reports alluded to what 'career' means, through statements of the purpose of vocational and career guidance. The Working Group on the Provision of Guidance (1989) defined the purpose of guidance as enhancing "the sequence of work, educational and training experiences people go through in their lifetimes" (p.6). This purpose of vocational guidance would seem to facilitate the achievement of what Greenhaus et al., (1994) and Hall (1976) defined as career. By 1995, the word 'career' was evident in the Career Information and Guidance (CIG) Report. The focus of career within this report was to enhance career service provision within New Zealand in order to create links between education and employment outcomes. It was claimed within this report that the enhancement of carer management would lead to individual well-being and social benefits; for example, fewer people would become unemployed and there would be lower employment turnover.

During the 1990s the term 'career' within government reports and Career Services *rapuara* internal documentation began to be decoupled from notions of stability and juxtaposed with notions of movement in and out of employment, and between organisations. Indeed, by the 1990s, the term 'career' in its contemporary sense began to replace notions of 'job' and 'paid employment' within the career literature and the documents and reports reviewed in Chapter Eight.

By the time the staff of Career Services *rapuara* were interviewed (in 2000), they each provided definitions of 'career' that entailed embracing all of one's life. However, many of the staff interviewed recognised that the majority of their clients do not perceive career in this way. Many of them noted that their clients stated 'they just wanted jobs'. In the two observations, the consultant did not use the term 'career' believing that the term was not well understood by clients and sometimes could be alienating. The two clients observed and interviewed for this research indicated that for them 'career' still meant stability, professionalism and upward mobility. Neither believed that what they had done in the past could be considered part of their 'career', might lead to a change in 'career', or that their current state of unemployment could be conceptualised as part of their 'career'. These two respondents also stated that they

believed that 'others' had careers. These views reflected what some of the staff interviewed stated, that 'career' is still seen as the domain of the 'other' for many of their clients.

However, even though career was conceptualised as 'all embracing' by contemporary career theorists, as well as within the documents reviewed and the staff interviewed, career planning and career services have continued to emphasise the need for individuals to re-create themselves in order to be employable. This emphasis on paid employment, especially in the insecure and volatile context now characteristic of employment, seems to challenge the espoused ideal of career as 'all-embracing'.

11.3.1.3 Individual Responsibility

Fournier (1996) noted the transformation in the concept of career in popular career discourse and theory, where individuals and not organisations are responsible for creating one's own career. Carson and Carson-Phillips (1997) found more than 3000 self-help books (of which Greenhaus et al., (1994) are a good example) offering prescriptive planning guides to help individuals be responsible for themselves. These books draw on notions of 'self-reliance', 'self-exploration', 'self-development', and 'self-management' to create individual career opportunities. Similarly The Report of the Working Group on the Provision of Guidance noted that vocational guidance needed to help individuals become more flexible in attitudes and skills and to identify their own transferable skill bases. The CIG report (1995) extended this individualism by recommending that people become 'self-steering'. 'Self-steering' was defined as the ability to take responsibility for the 'self' and develop more 'flexible' short- and long-term career options within the changing employment environment. Career Services *rapuara* internal documents and the staff interviewed also stated that individuals needed to become more 'self-steering', take responsibility for planning their careers, and upskill themselves to fit the world of work. The provision of careers information, advice, and guidance was to facilitate 'individuals' to understand the changes in work and what they must do to gain employment, that is, help teach them to be self-steering in the new employment environment.

11.3.1.4 Career Planning Benefits

The contemporary career theory literature, and the government reports and Career Services *rapuara* material reviewed all referred to links between career planning and individual, organisational, and societal benefits. Greenhaus et al. (1994), for example, argue that individuals who properly manage their careers gain better job offers, more pay, and have more fulfilling and satisfying lives. Comparisons of the espoused organisational benefits include more committed staff, and higher productivity because individuals 'fit' workplaces. Societal benefits were deemed to result from greater productivity and happier citizens, reduced staff turnover, reduced unemployment, and participative, social and economic costs associated with unemployment.

The construct of career that has informed the design and development of the current institutional framework and Career Services *rapuara* in particular parallels the construct of career espoused by contemporary career theorists. Embedded in this construct of career are common sense understandings about the changing nature of work and individual responsibility to create an employable 'self'. Contemporary career discourse assumes that individuals can change the self and, in so doing, find fulfilling employment. This construct of career has also informed the development of career intervention programmes and services within New Zealand in the past decade. The parallels between contemporary career management and development techniques with those developed and adopted by Career Services *rapuara* are discussed in the following section.

11.3.2 Embracing Contemporary Career Techniques

The Working Group on the Provision of Guidance (1989) argued that New Zealand needed to develop new counselling techniques and assessment methods to facilitate changes in individual attitudes and skills to better fit the new climate of employment. In particular, the group recommended that the developmental model of careers be adopted as opposed to a job placement model. The CIG review (1995) upheld this view and defined the developmental model as a process of gaining self knowledge, understanding education and employment opportunities, selecting, planning and

implementing a realistic career goal, and continuing to update skills and knowledge to adapt to changes in employment. Career Services *rapuara* has developed a variety of services and programmes to facilitate this process. The *KiwiCareers* database provides updated information. The guidance sessions may involve soliciting information from the client about their skills, interests, abilities, work and social values to link these to possible career options. Similarly, the *Plan-it* workbooks developed for students as young as 11, guide students through the process of career planning including self-exploration of interests, skills, and values, and how these might translate into possible career paths. Techniques used to facilitate this process can include personality tests, vocational assessment tests, and work-interest card-sorts. The process and outcomes of the career guidance sessions mirror Hall and Associates' (1996) description of typical guidance sessions. Thus, the outcomes described by Hall et al., and offered by Career Services *rapuara* can include CV writing, advice on realistic career options, and how to achieve career goals.

In the observed sessions, clients of Career Services *rapuara* were asked about their work values, interests, and desired goals. Their 'selves' were explored in terms of education attainment, skills, and possible employment options. These were matched to immediate job options, as required by the Department of Work and Income. There were some attempts to link their interests to long-term career development by suggesting training and education. One of these clients appeared to be more interested in the possibility of long-term educational options, the other client consistently stated he needed an immediate job to gain visitation access to his son.

Parallels and discontinuities are discernible between contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practices with the material gathered for this thesis. Contemporary career theorists also claim that the application of career service provision does make a difference in people's lives.

11.4 Making a Difference

The reports by Stockwell and Duckworth (1999) and Te Puni Korkiri (2001) suggested that Career Services *rapuara* make a difference in the lives of those people who have participated in some form of career intervention. The staff of Career Services *rapuara* interviewed also believed that they made a difference in people's lives. They commented that people felt better about themselves, they became more motivated, and that they felt that for the first time someone had listened to them. However, most of the staff interviewed believed that they made very little real difference in the lives of people. The staff stated that Career Services *rapuara* lacked sufficient funding to provide their services to more New Zealanders. This lack of funding also meant that Career Services *rapuara* was unable to be marketed effectively. Thus, many staff stated that they could make more difference in the lives of people if Career Services *rapuara* could provide their services to more people.

Stockwell and Duckworth did find that 80% of their sample of people who had participated in career service activities had moved into paid employment, training, or education. This report did not comment on the type of employment gained, in terms of pay rates, industry, or hours worked. Similarly, the type of education or training that respondents enrolled in were not discussed. Thus, in terms of understanding whether individuals are actually better off in paid employment or training cannot be determined from their report. In contrast, the staff interviewed did not know if the people they saw moved into paid employment or training as a result of the career intervention. In reference to third party contracts, staff stated that the outcomes of the career intervention were the concern of the Department of Work and Income and the Accident Compensation Corporation. Little is known then, about the long-term outcomes of career intervention. Some of the respondents did receive personal feedback from clients notifying them about enrolling in education or gaining employment. Many stated that they would be interested in feedback from individual fee-paying clients; however, such feedback was at the discretion of the client.

The two clients observed had contrasting views about whether they felt a difference had been made in their lives through their engagement with Career Services *rapuara*. One respondent stated that the guidance session confirmed some ideas he already had. Yet the other believed that the whole process was irrelevant to his situation. Only one of the staff respondents located what Career Services *rapuara* offer in terms of information, advice, and guidance to the economic, social, and cultural environment of New Zealand. This respondent believed that the current services provided and the individualistic construct of career drawn upon by Career Services *rapuara* could not alleviate the lived experiences of many of the clients that she saw on a daily basis. She believed that gender differences, cultural understandings and barriers, poverty, and lack of employment options could not be challenged by merely redefining 'career', and offering career information, advice and guidance.

The wider environment of 'career' has been characterised by global neo-liberalism, organisational and labour flexibility practices, and the emergence of downward pressure on incomes, work conditions and increased job insecurity. In this wider context, it is unlikely that changing individual perceptions of career, and providing career information, advice and guidance, can change the material circumstances of individual lives or challenge the wider socio-political environment. Because of this, a more critical reading of career service provision in New Zealand is warranted. Career service provision in New Zealand is discussed in the next section by drawing on the work of Foucault and Rose. This section explores the extent to which 'career' may be used as a technique to assimilate New Zealanders to accept wider socio-political changes, and as mechanism to discipline those who find themselves disenfranchised under the current environment.

11.5 Disciplining Difference

In Chapter Two it was argued that the political and economic processes underpinning global neo-liberalism and the associated changes to employment (as discussed in Chapter Three) require cultural changes that embrace an understanding of atomised individualism. In Chapter Four the work of Foucault (1977) and Rose (1989) was

drawn upon to argue that contemporary career management and development discourse can be viewed as part of a disciplinary matrix that facilitates these cultural changes. They argue that governments have sought to re-fabricate and re-shape individuals through complex disciplinary processes. Foucault (1977), for example, argued that discipline was the outcome of three inter-related processes of hierarchical surveillance, normalising judgements, and examination. Rose (1989) built on Foucault's argument and contended that in contemporary society governments manage the very subjectivity of citizens at a distance, through the complex processes that he termed 'technologies of the self' and 'techniques of the self'. Thus, Rose argued, in contemporary society individuals are disciplined through complex relationships between government, organisations, and experts. This section draws upon the work of Foucault and Rose to argue that the creation of Career Services *rapuara* is an example of disciplinary processes involving techniques and technologies of the self. That is, New Zealand governments appear to be attempting to manage the subjectivity of New Zealand citizens through the application of contemporary career management and development discourse, theory and practice, by transforming our common sense understandings of what we can expect from paid employment and from the government in terms of welfare provision. The use of the term 'career' as a 'technology of the self' and a 'technique of the self' are discussed in the next section.

11.5.1 Career as a Technology of the Self

Rose (1989) built on the work of Foucault to argue that in contemporary society governments manage the subjectivity of citizens from a distance through organisational practices and the employment of experts. This process was discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The purpose of this section is to discuss the argument presented in Chapter Four by drawing upon the empirical material presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten.

11.5.1.1 Setting the Objectives: Free Trade, Individualism and Career

Since 1984 New Zealand governments have set three inter-related objectives relevant to this thesis. First since 1984, successive New Zealand governments have pursued the objective of free trade and have de-regulated the New Zealand economy to

advance this objective. Emphasis was placed on increasing organisational and labour flexibility to overcome the 'economic crisis' of the 1970s. In the 1990s the same concerns were expressed as a need to become competitive in an international and then global market place. These changes have been based upon an ethos of neo-liberalism and have changed the shape, location, and remuneration associated with employment in New Zealand in the last two decades.

Second, governments have set the objective of re-fabricating citizens in New Zealand to see themselves as atomised individuals who ought to take responsibility for themselves and achieve their life's necessities through attachment to the labour market. By the late 1980s, government recognised that some individuals who had been displaced as a result of labour market and economic de-regulation would require assistance if they were to be able to re-enter paid employment. Throughout the 1990s, this objective included a need to educate New Zealanders about the changes in employment characterised by increased job insecurity, part-time work, and short-term contractual employment arrangements. New Zealanders needed to learn how to be flexible in 'attitudes' and skills, and to become 'self-steering' in maintaining employment for themselves within the new context of work.

The third objective set by governments has been to facilitate a cultural shift within New Zealanders to accept changes to employment associated with flexibility and global neo-liberalism through the provision of career services. The construct of 'career' drawn upon parallels that of contemporary career theorists and includes notions of individualism, self-control, self-management, and indeed self-blame. Throughout the 1990s, governments have established an institutional apparatus to facilitate such a cultural shift around the contemporary construct of 'career'. This apparatus is discussed in the following section.

11.5.1.2 Creating the Apparatus and the Central Agency

Since 1989, successive governments in New Zealand have developed an institutional apparatus complete with several central agencies to facilitate managing citizens at a distance. Career Services *rapuara* is one of these central agencies. In the provision of

career services it is required to form institutional links with the Department of Work and Income, the Accident Compensation Corporation, and with schools, parents, iwi, and community groups. The focus of Career Services *rapuara* is to help individuals to understand the changes in employment and their role to manage themselves to ensure their own employability. Within Career Services *rapuara* are career consultants who provide the 'expertise' required to act upon the understandings of individuals. The role of these experts is discussed in the following section.

11.5.1.3 The New Experts in New Zealanders' Subjectivity

Career consultants can be viewed as the new experts in subjectivity. They are providing new languages, vocabularies, and knowledge of individuality and normality. The new form of normality that is being expressed is that of a self-motivated individual who is 'self-steering' and who can be made responsible to create employability within a volatile environment. They draw upon labour market information that is created by Career Services *rapuara* staff to teach individuals about how the labour market has changed and what type of skills are required within it.

The career guidance process may be viewed as an application of the panoptic techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgements, and examination. Clients are subjected to a process of self-disclosure or confession, and are offered a picture of the 'self' back in terms of work interests, abilities, attitudes, strengths, weaknesses, and 'gaps'. New languages of 'transferable' and 'generic' skills are used to describe the basis of individual capacities in relation to current workplace opportunities.

Advice is given on how to manage deficiencies in relation to 'desired' employment and career goals, including enrolling in training or education programmes. The specific advice given to the two clients included accepting short-term, contractual and temporary employment as a stepping stone to gaining full-time employment. They were also advised to consider voluntary work as a means to 'upskill'. Career plans are also created that facilitate clients to implement their career goals. In this way, the career services provided also reflect what Rose termed techniques of the self.

11.5.2 Techniques of the Self

Rose (1990) argued that in contemporary society discipline is not only imposed upon us by government or experts in subjectivity for example, but also requires individuals to engage in changing themselves. The process of career services requires individuals to adopt advice and do things to themselves to accept the new form of career. Several of the services and programmes offered by Career Services *rapuara* facilitate individuals to manage themselves to create their career goals. The *CareerQuest* programme and the *Plan-It Workbooks* for example, provide step-by-step guides on the career guidance process. The reports by Stockwell and Duckworth (1999) and comments made by the Career Services *rapuara* staff in their interviews indicated that individuals have changed themselves as a result of the career guidance sessions. Gaining employment, enrolling in training or education programmes, and accepting part-time or temporary employment were the most common forms of change cited. The staff reported that students involved in the career sessions also requested follow-up sessions. Others indicated that those who were most likely to benefit from career services were those who already had certain cultural understandings consistent with the notions of individualism embedded in contemporary career discourse.

The two clients who were observed in this research had moved town before it was possible to re-interview them. They had both moved to stay with family. Therefore it was not possible to ask them about whether they had made changes to themselves as a result of their guidance sessions. However, one indicated that he had already tried to gain employment using the methods suggested by the career consultant. He had listed with employment agencies, performed voluntary work, and read the 'job-vacancy' sections of newspapers. The second client indicated that he had done what he was told in similar sessions, for example enrolled in courses, but his compliance had not led to employment. The indications that these two people have made changes to themselves supports Grey (1994) and Fournier's (1996) claims that 'career' offers a framework within which individuals can manage their own behaviour. The following section discusses 'career' as a form of disciplining difference.

11.5.3 Disciplining Difference

Rose argued that the application of discipline in contemporary society may be better thought of as disciplining difference. He argued that those who fail to meet the expectations of what is deemed to be normal are made visible and then acted upon to 'become' normal. It is their difference that is disciplined. The targeted provision of career guidance may be seen as a process of disciplining difference. Those people and groups who have been the most disenfranchised under neo-liberalism may be provided with free career guidance. For example, at risk youth, the unemployed, women receiving the Domestic Purpose Benefit (a welfare payment for single parents), and Accident Compensation Corporation claimants are all eligible for career guidance sessions. These people are deemed abnormal in terms of the neo-liberal view of individualism because they are currently in receipt of some form of welfare payment from government. That this difference is disciplined is made clear through the compliance requirements of the Accident Compensation Corporation claimants and the Department of Work and Income referrals. Failure to attend courses or sessions can lead to welfare payment cuts. Thus, the purpose of the sessions for those targeted is to ensure that they learn how to become employable and thus remove them from welfare support.

The current provision of career services in New Zealand seems to reflect Rose's argument that governments manage subjectivity at a distance through complex relationships between organisations and experts. The following section draws on the contribution of Deetz (1992) to examine further the extent to which the idea of career is being used as a vehicle of de-institutionalisation and colonisation of the life world with the focus of teaching individuals that their lived day-to-day experiences under neo-liberalism are natural and inevitable, and that any discomfort they might have with poverty and unemployment are remediable through reformed career attitudes.

11.6 Colonisation and De-institutionalisation through Career

Deetz (1992) argued that the norms and values that various contemporary experts in subjectivity draw upon to explain the contemporary nature of humanity are frequently

created within the context of the modern corporation. The norms of individualism and particular constructs of career have been central to a process of normalisation around the structures and processes of modern corporations. This process has been evident since early industrialisation in the work of F. Taylor (1967), and then within the Human Relations School of thought, and now in the form of 'shaping the soul'. Traditional bureaucratic career models, for example, were central to normalising notions of job security, narrow skill ranges for some and professionalism for others, and upward mobility based on 'meritocracy' (Humphries, 1998). Contemporary career theory is central to helping instil within us the notion that we are responsible for creating our own career and that this career might take the form of job movement, temporary work, and unemployment. Contemporary career management and development discourse helps normalise structural changes to work that have emerged with the implementation of organisational and labour flexibilities.

Deetz (1992) also argued that the norms created within corporations are extended to our non-work life through inter-related processes of colonisation and de-institutionalisation. Thus, non-work aspects of our lives become focused on achieving the objectives set within the boundaries of corporations, in doing so, we become assimilated to meeting the objectives of corporations. Colonisation referred to the extent to which activities carried out within the non-corporate world support the activities of the corporate world. Clearly, certain aspects of the provision of career services within New Zealand support the activities of the corporate world. The goals of free trade and individualism provide a legal framework that supports business within New Zealand. Legislation has enabled business to reshape, relocate, and determine pay levels facilitating contradictory trends of over-, under-, and unemployment and disproportionate income distribution. Minimum welfare payment entitlements within New Zealand ensure that those who are no longer required by the corporate world are taken care of by the state. At the same time, many have argued that unemployment and welfare payment cuts act to discipline those in work to accept deteriorating pay and working conditions (e.g. Humphries & Grice, 1994; *The*

Economist, 2000). Our leisure activities and unpaid work are frequently viewed as places to learn new skills that have the potential to transfer to paid employment.

Deetz (1992) argued that State-provided education also supports the corporate form. This is evidenced by the provision of career education within New Zealand schools and the desire to ensure that all 15-year-olds have a career plan and by 17 have that plan monitored. Career education within schools focuses on teaching youth about the realities of the current employment market, including understanding that their career might involve insecure forms of work, changes in employers, and the need for them to constantly up-skill themselves in their future working lives. This education also attempts to encourage youth to become self-steering in their career planning so that when they are faced with a career decision they know where and how to access up-dated information, and make 'rational' career decisions.

The process of de-institutionalisation of individuals from non-corporate affiliations, supports the process of colonisation. According to Deetz (1992), de-institutionalisation is the process whereby secondary-meaning institutions are given precedence over primary-meaning institutions in instilling values and identity. Career Services *rapuara* provide 'expert' advice to parents and teachers through the Parents as Career Educators and Teachers as Career Educators programmes. The focus of these programmes is to advise parents and teachers about the realities of the employment environment. The purpose of this is to ensure that they guide their children to choose career options of value. Thus, the primary-meaning-institution of the family is being eroded by the secondary-meaning institution of Career Service *rapuara* and the career 'experts'.

Colonisation through the provision of career services based on contemporary career management and development discourse theory and practice is also occurring at the international level. The creation of the International Symposium of Career Development and Public Policy: International Collaboration for National Action in 1999 indicates that the commitment of the career industry to take an active role at the

global level in the career planning of citizens. An outcome of this symposium is the proposed establishment of an international career agency focusing on establishing 'best practice'. The international- and global-level collaboration between career agencies is already apparent in New Zealand's adoption of programmes and services from similar international agencies. Programmes and services designed by Career Services *rapuara* have also been adapted by international agencies. The working premise of these agencies is that properly managed careers provide benefits to individuals, organisations, and society. 'Properly managed' refers to requirements to engage in continued up-skilling, accepting future flexible (and volatile) work arrangements, and possible job insecurity (e.g. job loss, geographic relocation, and downward mobility). Thus, the values and norms created in the corporate world that require individuals to be responsible for their own employment and to accept employment insecurity is being globalised through the career service industry.

11.7 Concluding Thoughts

Contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice claim to empower individuals to take charge of their lives through applying a particular construct of career. However, within the wider context of global neo-liberalism, this discourse necessarily must be viewed as part of a complex apparatus to discipline citizens to assimilate into, or accommodate (often uncritically) an economic system that is based on principles of competitive individualism, growing gaps between rich and poor, and contradictory employment outcomes. The contemporary career discourse is embedded with notions of individualism and self-control, yet attachment to employment and the outcomes of employment is often outside the control of individuals. The starting point of career discourse excludes an examination or critique of the political impetus behind changes to work in terms of the shape, distribution, and rewards associated with it. This exclusion obscures the political effort that has been involved in creating the economic and legal conditions associated with global neo-liberalism.

In this context, contemporary career management and development discourse, theory and practice can be viewed as an extension of what Rose (1989) described as the disciplinary apparatus aimed at managing the very subjective understandings of citizens. Thus, career in its various manifestations appears to be one of the mechanisms focused on re-fabricating individuality consistent with the type of human being required under global neo-liberalism. The micro-processes of providing career education, information, advice, and guidance can be understood as techniques that contribute to the cultural processes associated with globalising neo-liberalism.

Thus, through the application of career discourse we may come to believe that globalisation, flexibility, and the associated changes to work are natural and inevitable. To the extent that citizens engage uncritically with these processes we may become docile and compliant to wider socio-political and economic changes associated with neo-liberalism, which may, in the final analysis, not deliver on the promises made by its advocates. As part of accepting the wider political and economic discourse, in conjunction with its career parallels, citizens are also invited to believe that those who have not 'succeeded' can only blame themselves. Those who have failed, in terms of employment security, provide a visible example to the rest of us of what can happen if we do not choose the right education and follow the right career-life path. However, such a person can seek expert help and have their 'selves' diagnosed, acted upon, and thus become normalised within the framework of global neo-liberalism. Through the processes of applied career management and development, global neo-liberalism becomes normalised and as we become assimilated to this system, our political autonomy and ability to challenge the pervading economic system is weakened. The lack of individual or personal control to determine the shape of employment, the obscuring of political processes, and the weakening of our ability to challenge this system is counter to the type of participation and freedom encapsulated in the notion of democracy and social justice.

Chapter Twelve
Conclusions

12.1 Introduction

Advocates of contemporary career management and development discourse (e.g. Greenhaus et al. 1994; Hall; 1996; Handy, 1994, as discussed in Chapter Three) draw upon changes to the nature and shape of employment as the impetus for re-conceptualising what it means to have a career. They have offered new definitions of what 'career' means and a multitude of descriptive models that they claim reflect actual career patterns. Proponents of the 'new career' have also argued that individuals and not organisations are responsible for creating a career, and have offered prescriptive models to help individuals to manage their desired career outcome.

In this thesis I have drawn attention to the historical social, political, and economic processes since the end of the Second World War. I have placed particular emphasis on the decades from the 1980s as being significant in providing the 'space' within which contemporary career management and development discourse has been constituted. The emergence of contemporary career management and development has coincided with the emergence of global neo-liberalism and free trade, and the implementation of organisational and labour flexibilities with the associated changes to the shape, nature, and conditions of employment. I have argued that along with the development of the current global political and economic relationships there have emerged contradictory employment trends, growing gaps between rich and poor. There is also evidence that there is pressure on some nations to shape internal economic and political frameworks to support business interests. In doing so, national sovereignty and the processes of democracy have also become shaped to support particular business relationships. Women and indigenous peoples have been affected disproportionately compared to men within this new system.

My research has illustrated that governments both in New Zealand and abroad have drawn on the contemporary construct of 'career' as a means to support the implementation of political, economic, and social objectives. Governments have created a complex institutional apparatus, complete with central organisations and 'career' experts, to transmit the contemporary construct of career to wider society. Governments' political, economic, and social objectives, and the emerging construct of career support particular power and domination relationships that are increasingly negotiated on a global scale. The institutional apparatus associated with the emerging career discourse can be used by governments to manage citizens from a distance through the intervention of career experts. Through such career intervention and through the processes that Deetz termed 'deinstitutionalisation' and 'colonisation', individuals can come to learn how to recreate themselves to fit the new 'realties of work'. Failure to learn these lessons can be disciplined and punished through decreased access to the means of survival. Conversely, I have argued that an uncritical acceptance of the contemporary career discourse can be understood to form part of an apparatus to assimilate citizens into wider socio-political and economic relationships. The individualistic assumptions embedded in the contemporary career discourse, and the application of prescriptive models of career, however, cannot address the wider issues of decreased employment security, pay, and conditions. The normalisation of global neo-liberalism and the free trade agenda through the micro-application of career cannot address the issues associated with concerns about decreased national sovereignty or decreased opportunities to participate in democracy. Thus it is unlikely that the promise embedded in global neo-liberalism and contemporary career management and development discourse, of improved standards of living and greater participation for all will be honoured. These particular insights into contemporary career discourse were gained by critically interpreting the emergence of global neo-liberalism, flexibility and career discourses within specific historical social, economic and political moments, notably during the period beginning in the 1980s to the present time, in which this research is situated. These insights are less likely to be evident in more functionalist approaches, which tend to dominate career research.

The conclusions presented here are based upon the theoretical, methodological, and empirical work presented in this thesis. Thus, these conclusions represent the understandings that can be gained by locating career discourse in the broader context associated with global neo-liberalism and organisational flexibility as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. These conclusions necessarily need to be read within the limitations of the research (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). These limitations include the use of a critical interpretative repertoire, the focus upon one organisation, the small sample of participants, and two observed situations. The use of written material, interviews and observations was designed to provide insight into how 'career' can be used as a tool by government to discipline individual citizens. Thus, consistent with the methodological approach taken, these conclusions serve to provide theoretical insight to our understandings of how an application of the construct of career may be used as a method to normalise wider political processes by assimilating citizens into broader social structures. Thus these conclusions may not be, or seek to be generalisable to other situations or organisations.

12.2 Interpreting Career

Chapter Six discussed the critical theories and Foucauldian perspectives of insight generation. Perspectives drawing on critical theories are said to create insight by drawing on the hermeneutic understanding of language. Foucauldian perspectives address the archaeology of knowledge. These insights may be enhanced by applying Foucault's notion of genealogy of knowledge, Rose's notion of disciplining in contemporary society, and Deetz's understandings of deinstitutionalisation and colonisation of the life world. Using these theorists has enabled me to focus attention on the power and domination embedded in the global neo-liberal, flexibility, and emerging career discourses.

12.2.1 Creating Insight into 'Career'

The hermeneutic view of language enables contemporary career management and development to be understood as representing dominant taken-for-granted ways of being. Advocates of contemporary career discourse offer new career descriptions,

which they claim are representations of 'truth' about the forms career has taken throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and prescriptions of how career will emerge in the coming decades. A hermeneutic view of language however, enables these new career descriptions to be viewed as representations of changes to the nature and structure of employment that has occurred in the last two decades. Contemporary career descriptions thus may be understood as metaphors that help order what we 'see out there' in terms of the restructuring and reshaping of work. The professional career (Moss Kanter, 1989) and the linear career (Brousseau et al., 1996), for example, may be viewed as metaphors for the work experiences associated with flatter organisational structures. The entrepreneurial (Moss Kanter, 1989), the portfolio (Handy, 1989), and the transitory descriptive career models (Brousseau et al., 1996) can be seen as metaphors for insecure employment. These metaphorical representations of career provide partial explanations of the opportunities available to people within the changing employment environment. However, these partial explanations of career have come to represent common sense knowledge about what we can expect from the employment environment and our career.

By applying Foucault's analysis of the archaeology of knowledge, it is possible to understand that the contemporary construct of career has been developed along with the emergence of organisational and labour flexibility and global neo-liberal discourses. The contemporary manifestation of 'career' can be located within the historic social, legal, and economic context of the 1980s and 1990s. The implementation of organisational and labour flexibility during the 1980s, the development of global neo-liberalism during the 1990s, and the concomitant changes to the nature of employment in this time provide the basis of how this particular 'knowledge' of 'career' became possible. The political, economic, and cultural processes associated with negotiating global neo-liberalism, the adoption of international agreements, the voluntary or enforced restructuring of nation states, and the pooling of national sovereignty have provided a space whereby contemporary career management and development discourse could be constituted as 'common sense'.

The contemporary metaphors of career, however, provide partial representations of the employment opportunities available to us. These metaphors do not discuss, for example, the contradictory trends of over-, under-, or unemployment, the widening gap between rich and poor, the deteriorating pay and conditions of employment, the disproportionate affect on women and indigenous peoples of workplace change, or the implications of the current economic system for democratic participation. The downgrading of welfare provision and the creation of welfare to work programmes in many Western nations are also ignored within the contemporary career management and development discourse. Instead, we are invited to see ourselves as atomised individuals, who have control over our employability and the responsibility for providing for our own welfare needs.

12.2.2 Critiquing 'Career'

Such insights gained by applying hermeneutic and archaeological perspectives enables the term 'career' to be understood as a representation of a dominant taken-for-granted truth, created as part of a specific knowledge constituted within a particular social, legal, political, and economic climate. Interpreting the empirical material in terms of power and domination provides these insights with political depth. Politicising 'contemporary career' can be achieved by drawing on Foucault's (1970) contribution of the genealogy of knowledge, Rose's (1989) extension of Foucault's work on the panoptic prison as a micro-space that governments can use to manage and discipline citizens from a distance, and Deetz (1992) contribution of 'colonisation' and 'deinstitutionalisation'.

12.2.2.1 Genealogy of Knowledge: Creating a Disciplinary Apparatus

Contemporary career management and development discourse constitutes a specific form of knowledge. Foucault (1980) argued that such knowledge links with disciplinary apparatus in a particular way. Such knowledge helps to create and to sustain the apparatus. It is evident through reading the government reports, and the Career Services *rapuara* internal reports and documents, that contemporary career management and development discourse has informed the creation and continued

development of the institutional apparatus associated with career concepts and processes in New Zealand.

Foucault (1980) argued that that the creation of apparatus is always strategic in nature, and is created to transmit selected and controlled orders throughout society. These orders advantage some groups more than others, and are aligned to the political interests in society that established the apparatus. Rose (1989) extended Foucault's argument to illustrate how governments have come to manage citizens at a distance through the design of institutional apparatus, the structure of organisations, and the employment of experts.

The contemporary construct of career, including the new definitions and descriptions of career and the new instructions on how to manage 'one's career' reflect the power and domination relationships within both New Zealand society and the global community (as discussed in Chapter Eleven). At the global level, some nations and multi-national companies have used their relative positional power and dominance within the context of multi-national institutions to negotiate the political and economic relationships between nations, and the conditions within nations to advance free trade. The restructuring of national political and economic systems favourable to free trade, have advantaged some multinational corporations, nations, and individuals more than others at the expense of many.

The creation of the apparatus for career management and development has been aligned with the political intentions of successive New Zealand governments since its creation in 1990. Initially, Career Services *rapuara* was created to fulfil the political goals of facilitating the re-entry to paid employment of people who had been made redundant during the early phases of economic restructuring. This has been extended to include developing institutional relationships with the Accident Compensation Corporation, and the Department of Work and Income to facilitate the achievement of welfare-to-work programmes initiated during the 1990s. Career Services *rapuara* is also linked institutionally with schools, community groups, parents, and teachers. The

strategic intent of Career Services *rapuara* is to provide careers information, advice and guidance to all New Zealanders. Career Services *rapuara* is required to help individuals learn how to become 'self-steering' in maintaining employment within an insecure environment. Career Services *rapuara* draws upon the 'common sense' knowledge that work has changed in the past two decades. Contemporary career management and development discourse are used as the basis to inform the design of their policies and practices. Intervention in the career management process of individuals is based upon their claim to expert knowledge and understanding of workplace change and career discourse. Through their career intervention, the produced knowledge of career 'informs' us that work and career has changed and that through good career management and planning individuals can control and negotiate their career destiny. Failure to choose the right education, the right job and so on, is interpreted as individual failure to properly manage one's own career. Clients of the Accident Compensation Corporation and the Department of Work and Income can be disciplined through the withdrawal of welfare entitlements.

The new 'understandings' of career are reinforced throughout wider society through what Deetz (1992) termed the process of 'deinstitutionalisation'; meaning the disassociation from previous institutional influences such as family and church, with a concomitant increase in external institutional influences, such as schools, health providers, and media. Career Services *rapuara* has taken on an 'expert' role to educate parents and teachers about the 'realities' of work. The purpose of this re-education is to ensure parents and teachers provide 'good' career advice; advice that is consistent with dominant political and economic interests as discussed in Chapter Two. Schools, too, have become enmeshed in this process. New emphasis is placed on teaching school-aged students to conceive of themselves as an employable adult in a changing employment environment. They are encouraged to expose their interests, strengths, and weaknesses to career advisors, and to select educational programmes that promise participation in paid employment in their adult lives. They are not, however, invited to explore the wider socio-political and economic environment with

the view of challenging the current structural and political arrangements of our society.

The links between this particular understanding of career and the apparatus that transmits these new 'understandings' are strengthened in two ways. First, by the continued adherence to, and development of contemporary career discourse through Career Services *rapuara*, career theorists, and second, through the creation of a global network of career practitioners, academics, and policy makers. These new understandings can transform our day-to-day life experiences into an expression of a 'meaningful career'. Those who are exposed to insecure forms of employment, for example, may be encouraged to re-interpret their experiences as normal, even desirable aspects of a protean career. Alternatively, if we view our day-to-day lives as lacking in meaning, we are encouraged to apply a career management model to 'discover' ourselves and recreate the self to pursue a more meaningful career, and in turn, this will provide a more meaningful life.

12.2.2.2 Deconstructing 'Career'

Throughout this thesis global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and contemporary career management and development discourse have been deconstructed. The political and economic discourse of the 'need' for greater 'flexibility' emerged in the mid-1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s this discourse was extended to incorporate a 'need' for free trade and globalisation and at the present time the discourse has developed the 'space' in which the contemporary notions of career management and development can be understood as a process for changing the self. The historical examination of these processes revealed that there was a rehearsed discourse of an economic crisis during the 1970s. The neo-liberal explanation of this apparent 'crisis' gained favour in England and the United States of America during the late 1970s, and in New Zealand in the early 1980s. Neo-liberal solutions to this apparent crisis became embedded globally throughout the 1990s through the processes associated with globalisation.

Neo-liberal and flexibility 'logics' were used to inform citizens that this 'crisis' could only be remedied through economic growth. Advocates of neo-liberalism argued that

this economic growth could only be achieved if governments reduced spending on welfare provision and deregulated the economy (including deregulating financial, trade, and labour markets). Within this environment, it was argued that businesses could become more competitive. Individuals would be empowered with greater freedom of choice in goods and services at lower prices, freedom of association, and the right and responsibility to care for their own needs. The deconstruction of this discourse has revealed that the current system of global neo-liberalism favours particular groups over others. More powerful nations and multinational corporations have been able to use their relative power to dominate the negotiations of global neo-liberalism to favour their requirements for cheap labour, access to cheap foreign resources and profitable markets, and the repatriation of profits and minimal tax requirements.

Individuals have not been empowered within this global system to the extent that the proponents of neo-liberalism claim. The everyday experiences of individuals throughout the world have been impacted by implementation of global neo-liberalism. This political and economic system has enabled multinational companies to relocate finance and industry, restructure operations, create insecure forms of employment, and downgrade employment conditions and income. National businesses have adopted similar structural changes to compete or have closed operations. Individuals have very little control in these processes, even though their material circumstances might have deteriorated significantly as a result of organisational and workplace change. This system has been created upon the assumptions and common sense knowledge that 'markets' and individualised actions can 'manage' the economy better than interventionist-styled government management initiatives. Thus, we are encouraged to believe that the outcomes of this economic system are the result of individual effort and therefore just and fair. In this context, contemporary career management and development discourse and the development of an institutional apparatus to disseminate the 'message' of 'career' to wider society can be viewed as a technique that is used to normalise global neo-liberalism by uncritically assimilating citizens to wider socio-political structures.

12.3 Normalisation and Assimilation through 'Career'

Contemporary career management and development theory and practices are built on notions of self-management, autonomy, and empowerment. It is assumed that by changing the 'self' we can all share in the benefits of a wider socio-political and economic structure that are presumed to result from global neo-liberalism and free trade.

Based on the research reported in this thesis, I argue that career management is a disciplinary process incorporating the techniques of hierarchical surveillance, normalising judgements, and examination. The application of discipline enables individuals to be compared to some pre-fabricated norm, and minute distinctions between individuals can be made visible. Through the career management process, we are encouraged to confess our interests, weaknesses, and desires. We are to diagnose our own deficiencies and devise strategies to recreate our 'self' in to an image of an employable 'other'. We are persuaded to believe that we have control of our 'self', and that through 'self' management we can control our own career destiny. Uncritical acceptance of career discourse thus can render individuals amenable to change themselves to fit the employment environment. An environment that I have argued is exploitative for most people.

The 'timely' emergence of contemporary career management and development discourse can be seen as part of a complex disciplinary apparatus that can be used by governments to discipline individuals through a new form of hegemonic control. The central location of the 'self' as the object and target for career intervention obscures the political intent and the power relationships of domination that have driven the creation of global neo-liberalism, flexibility, and the emerging changes to employment in the past two decades. New Zealand governments have created an institutional apparatus that has as its central theme the management of the subjectivities of citizens by the process of redefining our understandings of 'career', employment, and 'responsibility'. New Zealand governments willingly have provided the mechanisms within this institutional apparatus to punish those who have become disenfranchised

within the current economic and political relationships, even though this disenfranchisement might have been the result of decisions made beyond their control. Thus, in an effort to encourage 'welfare-to-work', for example, New Zealand governments have empowered particular institutions, such as Career Services *rapuara,* to provide career intervention. The government has also empowered the Department of Work and Income to withdraw welfare payments from those who are considered by their case manager to not be doing enough to find employment.

The contemporary construct of career has been constituted within the space provided by the application of global neo-liberalism and flexible organisational and labour practices. The application of contemporary career practice re-produces the relationship of power and domination within this environment. Because power still resides with government and multinational corporations, they continue to determine the material circumstances of our lives. Individuals 'acting' upon the 'self', even when it is not in their best interest to do so, wittingly or unwittingly become assimilated into the current economic and political structures. If we come to believe that the current political and economic environment is natural and inevitable, global neo-liberalism has become normalised. Our political powers to question the current system and our ability to participate in imaging an alternative way of being are restricted by our limited understanding of the wider political processes involved in creating the current system.

Perhaps, though, the greatest power of normalising global neo-liberalism through the construct of career is that career offers logical explanations of why individuals seemingly succeed or fail. Those who succeed is this new environment might believe that they have done so through their own efforts. The construct of career also provides the successful people with a logical argument as to why some people are 'failures'. According to this argument, failure also is the result of individual effort, or lack thereof. The power of contemporary career management and development discourse exists in its potential to normalising globalisation in the minds of successful people. It is the ability of sufficient numbers of people to accept the disparate

outcomes of others that is crucial if the current system of global neo-liberalism is to be upheld and perpetuated. As long as successful individuals are assimilated to wider political, economic and social changes, and are unable to grasp the implications of this system for themselves, then they will continue to accept globalisation. They can blame unsuccessful individuals for their own position because structural critique is impossible for already normalised and assimilated members of this society.

12.4 Concluding Thoughts: Hidden Contradictions in 'Career'

The current New Zealand Government claims to address the disparate economic and participative outcomes of youth, women and Maori, and Pacific Island peoples within New Zealand. The government has upheld the belief that participation in paid employment will achieve this goal. The current government has increased its financial support of Career Services *rapuara* and associated institutions to help targeted groups understand the connections between their education and training choices with access to paid employment. The current Government, however, maintains a commitment to free trade and minimal government spending on welfare, and stimulates notions of individual and community responsibility for creating personal and family well-being. The critical interpretation of career in this thesis suggests that the social aspirations expressed by government cannot be achieved while adhering to a commitment to the free trade agenda and the associated political, economic and cultural arrangements that reproduce this agenda in the day-to-day lives of New Zealand citizens.

The free trade agenda continues to support the power and domination relationships inherent in global neo-liberalism. More powerful nations and multinational corporations are able to negotiate trade agreements that favour their own national interest and narrowly defined profit objectives. This Government has continued to support a political and economic environment that enables multinational corporations and business to relocate operations and finance, and to reshape organisations and employment by creating more 'flexible' arrangements. These arrangements make New Zealand-owned and based businesses and employees vulnerable to international

competition. There is no commitment within this agenda to stabilise the shape of employment to reflect the needs of employees or citizens. There is no meaningful discussion about what constitutes a days work or what is a fair liveable wage. Thus, there is no inquiry into the extent of exploitation of employees, within New Zealand or abroad, in terms of hours worked and pay received.

The free trade agenda is still based on liberal notions of justice and democracy. The outcomes associated with structural change and business decisions are deemed fair and just. Individual outcomes manifest from these structural changes, whether disparate or not, are believed to be the result of individual effort. From this perspective, justice is achieved through individual effort and structural constraints are ignored. Participation in the democratic processes is reduced to election-day politics. Deetz (1992) argued that election-day politics in modern times have come to uphold private interests, and the processes of democracy have been reduced to being the handmaiden of those private interests. We are still excluded from participating in the decisions that determine the economic and political direction of New Zealand. Government representatives negotiate free trade deals that in effect reduce our nation's sovereignty and right to determine our own path. Contemporary career discourse merely facilitates the reproduction of these forms of social justice and democracy by assimilating New Zealanders into a wider project of global neo-liberalism.

A more imaginative view of social justice and democracy is required if we are to challenge the current political and economic structures associated with global neo-liberalism. More critical notions of social justice that incorporate concerns for the actual social, economic, and participative outcomes are required if we are to address the growing gap between rich and poor, and the contradictory trends of employment with their associated social and physical ills. Such a reclamation of 'social justice' and democracy concomitantly requires a reclamation of the right of citizens to participate in determining the direction of our lives. We must also reclaim our national sovereignty so that we can determine our own political, economic and legal

structures to reflect the needs of our selves, our bicultural responsibilities embedded with the Treaty of Waitangi, and our growing multicultural society. We must also devise and enforce new forms of social justice and democratic participation upon our international trading partners and upon the activities of the companies that we choose to do business with. We must create an economic system that meets our welfare needs and not one that meets narrowly defined profit motives of foreign interests. The final chapter in this thesis draws on the discussion of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) on the notion of transformative redefinition to suggest how the construct of 'career' might be retrieved to enable us to plan our lives to fulfil our hopes, dreams, and economic well-being.

Chapter Thirteen
Transformative Redefinition: Closing the Deficiency in the Meaning of 'Career'

13.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have argued that the macro processes of globalisation both impact and are impacted by the micro-practices of our everyday lives. In the previous chapter I concluded that in its present form, contemporary career management and development concepts, theories and practices obscure (but are supported by) the wider political and economic changes associated with globalisation. I also concluded that within New Zealand and many other Western nations governments have created a complex apparatus designed to invite citizens to accept the emerging workplace changes as normal and inevitable. I have termed this normalisation process 'domestication' where it is uncritically accepted, and 'hegemonic' when the outcome is oppression.

The wider social, political and economic context in which this work was conducted, has been identified as being driven from neo-liberal capitalist principles. From a critical theorist perspective, these principles are devised to maximise profit, which will be accomplished by obtaining more for less from invested resources, including human beings. I have used the post-modern notion of 'discourse' and associated 'discourse' analysis to illustrate how neo-liberalism, flexibility, and career draw upon the construct of atomised individuals characterised by self-control to introduce, manifest, and encourage new levels of responsibility for the outcome of one's life. This emerging discourse of career management and development extends the notion of self-control to include the concepts of self-creation through self-management. Thus by 'changing ourselves' we are promised that we can create self-fulfilling careers within the emerging environment of work.

I have argued that through the omission of any analysis of the broader economic processes and the exploitative tendencies of neo-liberalism in this emerging discourse and because of the achievement of general acceptance, tolerance and even support of these principles of exploitation – even by those who are being exploited - that the application of contemporary career discourse, theory, and practice can be viewed as a form of hegemonic control. As sufficient people accept uncritically the values, norms and attitudes of competitive individualism, the new work ethics of a-politicised responsibility for self, 'market determination' of all social and economic outcomes, and consumerism as predominant personal identification, we become controlled by our uncritical acceptance of the wider changes described in Chapter Two and Three. Such uncritical acceptance was argued to result in oppressive regimes, and insecurity and poverty for many.

In Chapter Two I argued that the outcomes of oppressive and hegemonic regimes are counter to the ideals espoused in the commitment to democratic principles of freedom and participation. Not only have many women, indigenous people, and the working poor failed to achieve these aspirations, but their marginalisation appears to have increased. The process of normalising citizens to wider political change becomes problematic when the issues of national governance, democracy, redistribution of employment and wealth, the feminising of work and poverty, and the disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples are taken into consideration (as discussed in Chapter Two).

The emergence of the Third Way discourse as a solution to what some view as the negative social consequences of the applied neo-liberal discourse lends political support to the concerns that were also raised in Chapter Two. Proponents of the Third Way argue that the negative consequences now generally agreed to come with free market policies, can be addressed through continued globalisation of free trade, but with a new emphasis on individual and community responsibility for creating the means of survival and minimal state safety nets for those who are in need. Thus the same assumptions of competitive individualism, minimal state input, and free trade

are present in the Third Way discourse. It seems unlikely that this approach can address the issues of governance, democracy, redistribution of employment and wealth, and the impacts of globalisation on women and indigenous peoples. Yet, it is an approach gaining support alongside the continued commitment to free trade policies.

The promises made by advocates of globalisation, flexibility, and contemporary careers (of improved wealth and well-being, self-fulfilment, self-control, balanced lives and interesting work) are seductive, and indeed, worthy of exploration. In this closing chapter, I will explore how the promises made by the advocates of globalisation, flexibility, and contemporary career management and development might be achieved. The chapter begins with three brief 'career' stories, the career stories of my two older brothers and myself. Our working experiences span the previous two decades. Our stories are situated within the economic and political restructuring that has occurred within New Zealand since 1984. Our personal career paths differ from each other yet share certain commonalties. They also reflect certain characteristics of the various descriptive contemporary career models as presented in Chapter Three. Our careers serve to illustrate the day-to-day impact of wider political and economic changes of the past two decades on our selves and our families.

The second section of this chapter seeks to offer a transformative redefinition of career. The reflective stories of the Career Services *rapuara* career guidance counsellor who participated in the situational observations (as presented in Chapter Eleven) are drawn on to explore how we might review contemporary career management and development discourse in light of the wider discourses of globalisation, and organisational and labour flexibility. This section suggests that global- and national-level structural change, new understandings of work, and new ways of rewarding work are required if we are to achieve democratic participation in our societies and to actualise benefits espoused by contemporary career theorists for all.

13.2 A Tale of Three Siblings: Our Wonderful Careers?

My two brothers and I were born in the mid to late 1960s. In the early 1970s our father left the family. He moved to another country and we have not seen him since. He has not contributed financially to the family, nor has he fulfilled his legal obligation to make payments to the state to offset the cost of the Domestic Purpose Benefit, the welfare payment provided by the government to my mother to support our care. We had a vegetable garden, and at that time the state still subsidised electricity, staple foods, the telephone service, bus services, and medical services. If we were sick we went to the doctor. We were poor, yet we had access to the necessities, if not the luxuries, of life. By the time we were teenagers, my mother began to work full-time when she could find employment. Some of her jobs were state-funded schemes. My brothers and I also had after-school and weekend work to help bring money to the family. We bought our clothes, paid for entertainment, and school-fees and schoolbooks. I do not believe that we were 'welfare-dependent'. I believe that we received what any moral society should provide for people in our position.

My brothers and I can be seen as living testament that sufficient welfare-provision for those in need does not necessarily lead to inter-generational welfare dependencies. We have pursued paid employment to take care of our individual and now our family's needs. The stories of our 'career' paths are presented here. I have written these with the help of my brothers. They illustrate different career descriptions presented in Chapter Three. While we have actively pursued paid employment, access to work has not always been within our own control. I have presented the stories in the order that we left school beginning with the middle brother's story. I have changed the names of my brothers in these stories.

13.2.1 My Middle Brother's Wonderful Career

In 1982 my 'middle' brother, James, left school at fifteen with no formal qualifications. He worked in a local dairy for one year (a small owner-operated shop selling milk, bread, and other small grocery items). He then began work in the local forestry industry, pruning trees. Since he left school he has had many jobs. At 19

James went to Australia where he worked in various jobs for 18 months before returning home. Upon his return he got a labouring job in the local sawmill industry. He then trained as a finger jointer operator and then as a treatment plant-operator. When he was 23 he gained an adult apprenticeship and trained as a saw-doctor (responsible for maintaining the saws within the mill). These four jobs represent increased skills within the sawmill industry.

At the end of his apprenticeship he and his wife went to England to start their 'OE' (as overseas experience is commonly referred to in this country). His wife had just been made redundant from a local branch of a government department. The government department was in the process of centralising operations to reduce costs. At the time they viewed her redundancy as 'fitting' with their plans to travel and her redundancy pay as an additional bonus to their travel plans. On their return to New Zealand, my brother found employment, as a saw doctor in Fletcher Challenge Forest Ltd, at that time a New Zealand-owned multinational company. His wife could only find employment on short-term contracts within government departments. They bought a house, and within a year they started their family. Before their baby was born, Fletcher Challenge restructured and closed the sawmill where my brother worked and made the majority of the staff redundant. James was fortunate as Fletcher Challenge offered him employment in a sawmill in another town. He moved town for the job. For the first eight months of their baby's life my brother and his wife lived in separate towns. Eventually, they were able to sell their first home and were reunited as a family. They bought a new home where my brother worked. The sawmill operated 24 hours per day by having three eight-hour shifts. Because shifts were worked in rotation he worked a 40-week that included weekend and night shifts. His take-home pay was $850.00 per week.

Within one year of his family being reunited, James was made redundant. He found employment as a saw doctor in another company in another town. He moved town for this job, leaving his wife and now two children. They were reunited after three months of separation and bought their third home. In his new job, he worked 11 hours

per day between Monday and Friday stating at 5.30 in the morning and finishing at 5.30 in the evening. He got 20 minutes for morning-tea break and twenty minutes for lunch. He also worked a half-day on Saturday. His take-home pay from this job was $630.00 per week. By now they had had their third child. He and his wife began to sell their possessions to meet their financial obligations. This deterioration in pay and conditions occurred even though at the time there was a New Zealand-wide shortage of qualified saw-doctors. Throughout the work-induced separations, my brother took full financial responsibility for his family. Thus, his income had to cover the cost of a mortgage, caring for two adults and two young children, and renting his own accommodation.

One year ago, James left the sawmill industry to become a farm labourer. They made this decision for lifestyle reasons. He works the same number of hours as in his previous job, but the hours are worked over seven days making his working days shorter. The farm wage is lower than his previous wage. Because of his low wage his family receives 'income support', a government welfare payment to supplement the income of low-wage earners'. The combination of his wage and government income support means they are receiving the same amount of money as his previous job. He and his family have just moved to a new farm. This move includes a pay rise.

James' early working experiences of constant movement into unrelated forms of work reflect certain characteristics of Brousseau et al.'s (1996) description of a transitory career. His working experiences in the sawmill industry are characteristic of their description of an expert career indicated by increased skill levels within the sawmill industry. These increased skills have been built up over time and include the starting position of a manual labourer, a finger joint machinist, a wood treatment operator, and then a saw doctor responsible for maintaining the machines he previously operated. Counter to the theory put forward by Brousseau et al., he has not had job security and has moved organisations as a result of redundancy. His income declined with each move and the work demands have increased. His recent move to become a farm labourer again reflects a transitory career move.

13.2.2 My Big Brother's Wonderful Career

In 1984 my eldest brother, 'Paul', left school at eighteen with University Entrance. He gained employment in a local branch of a government department and has remained in government employment ever since. He has worked for this department almost consistently since he left school. In 1998 he left to work for another government agency in a more senior role. His return to the first department in mid-1999 was the result of applying for and gaining a promotion. He has studied part-time towards a university degree for the last 10 years.

In the last 18 years Paul has moved towns six times. The first three moves in 1986, 1988 and 1990 were to gain promotions. The fourth and fifth moves occurred in 1996 and 1997 as a result of being seconded to a more senior position for one year. This meant that he only saw his wife and one-year-old son on weekends. In 2000 he, his wife, and now their two sons moved town so he could gain a further promotion. He has just announced that their family, now including a new baby daughter will be moving again. This latest job was accepted based on lifestyle choices. He and his wife wanted to move closer to their extended family. This new job effectively represents a sideways move at the same rate of pay. It also provides him with the opportunity to learn more aspects of the organisation, thus widening his functional skills.

Paul has been retained throughout the major government restructuring of state departments. He notes that the three most significant restructurings occurred in 1987, 1989/1990, and in 1997. These restructurings resulted in redundancy for many people. He said he was most insecure during 1987 and 1989/1990 restructurings, as he did not know whether he would retain his position. However, between 1987 and 1999 his department has been required to make incremental budget cuts. Thus, every year since 1987 and until the present time the department has undergone review with organisational refinements and improvement in mind, a consequence of which is sometimes redundancy.

Paul has been a middle manager since 1996. His position has been secure since then, as he was either co-ordinating or leading restructuring. He has made one person redundant and made two people part-timers. He stated that making the redundancy was easy because he did not know the person. He acknowledged that in most instances, restructuring was difficult for management because of their personal relationships with their staff. The constant downsizing of the government department has meant that he has 'reached the limit' of upward mobility, at least, until someone above him retires, resigns, or is made redundant.

Since 1996, when he first became a middle manager, he has worked extended hours ranging between 40 to 65 hours per week, including weekend and late night work. Thus, the redundancies of others and his 'higher' management position have resulted in major increases to his workload. He works at least one long day per week, and there are concentrated periods that can span anywhere from one to three weeks, when, as he puts it, "some days are pretty bloody long". His salary is inclusive of overtime allowances. He might get time off in lieu for the extended periods, but he generally does not take it. This time off is by negotiation and not of right. His current salary is $67,000.

Paul's career path resembles certain characteristics of the organisationally-bound professional career as defined by Kanter-Moss (1989), and the expert and linear career paths as defined by Brousseau et al., (1996). Consistent with the professional and expert career he has continued to gain specialist skills in his area and has experienced job expansion. His incremental and limited access to upward movements and his limited job security reflects the linear career model described by Brousseau et al., (1996).

13.2.3 My Wonderful Career

I left school with University Entrance just months after the 1987 share market crash. I had difficulty in getting my first job and was unemployed for five months. In that time I had decided on the job I really wanted to do. The particular job did not have

pre-requisite training but there were no vacancies in the organisation. I applied for other forms of work with no success. Unemployment was a new experience for me as I consistently had part-time work while I was at school. Because of the difficulty in finding work I began voluntary work in an organisation similar to the one I wanted to work for. I did this to pass time and to help gain appropriate experience to list on my Curricula Vitae. After five months of unemployment, I was offered three jobs within a matter of days. Two were in early childcare facilities, and the third was my 'desired' position.

I worked for the organisation for 18 months. The nature of the work was stressful. Restructuring within the organisation reduced the number of managers. Our new manager went from supervising three staff to supervising nine staff. This particular manager however, began to systematically harass staff. Eventually it was my turn. I had talked with the Area Manager to no avail. In 1990, and after several months of constant harassment I decided to leave the organisation. I moved town to be with my 'partner', and began the difficult task of trying to find employment in a town where I had no contacts. At 19 with university entrance I was surprisingly too old, too young, too educated, not educated enough. I was unemployed for six months. Part of this time I worked on a government-run horticultural work scheme. This scheme ran for 12 weeks and we 'worked' from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday to Thursday and a half-day on Fridays. We were 'paid' the equivalent of our unemployed welfare payments plus an additional 10% to help cover transport costs to 'work'. We grew vegetables, and for a very low charge, weeded people's gardens. I was happy weeding the gardens of the poor elderly. I resented weeding the gardens of people who could afford to pay a business for the service. In effect, we helped undercut the price of home-maintenance business owners who were trying to make their living. The scheme was fun, it got me out of the house, and I met some nice people, who like me, simply could not find 'real' work. I did not find employment at the end of the scheme and went to register again for the unemployment welfare payments. However, the scheme was considered 'work' and I had to wait two weeks before I was eligible for the welfare payments.

I finally found paid employment in a fast food restaurant and later in a market garden. By the end of 1990, I broke up with my partner and rang my mother up to 'come get me'. She did. Before I moved back home I secured a casual position in my old place of work. Within a month of moving back home, my mother found an advertisement for an introductory management course at the local polytechnic. She made me find out about the course, and drove me to the interview and ensured that I was enrolled before we left the polytechnic. My mother always believed I was intelligent, and used my emotional fatigue to push me into further education.

The course interested me because of my experiences of harassment by a manager. I thought that I could learn how to be a better manager. However, I had not linked the course to future employment options. In the first year of the two-year course I decided to become a polytechnic tutor. The path to this job was made possible through the newly developed articulation programme between the polytechnic and the local university. I was able to cross-credit the study towards a Bachelor of Management Studies, a pre-requisite to tutoring in management. I graduated with a First Class Honours Degree in Management Studies. I decided to complete a Masters degree, partly because it would take one year, but primarily because the entry requirements to polytechnic tutoring had increased to a Masters level qualification. I required a part-time job to provide income for the year of Masters study. By chance someone resigned from their tutoring position at the university and I was hired as the replacement, simply because I had visited the department chairperson at least once a week to ask about vacancies.

I discovered I did like tutoring and that I was good at it. Towards the end of the Masters programme I was approached to consider enrolling in the doctoral programme. This came with a part-time, four-year fixed term contract. I considered the implications of the offer before accepting. My concerns included an existing student debt which I would have difficulty paying on the low income offered, my abilities to meet the intellectual requirements of doctoral level research, the uncertainty of employment upon completion of the doctorate, and the possibility of

becoming a highly educated, heavily indebted unemployable individual. I was reassured that I was capable of the work and that there would be employment at the end of the four years. I was offered additional part-time jobs to compensate for the low income. I felt reassured and so I enrolled in the doctoral programme.

The part-time job was for 20 hours per week, but frequently I worked in access of 30 hours per week. On top of this I worked a series of one-off contractual jobs simply to earn enough money to survive. Some weeks I worked in excess of 50 hours, with my doctoral study in addition to this. By the end of the first 18 months of my contract, I applied for and got a four-year fixed term Assistant Lectureship position. This was a full-time position and I was able to discontinue all of the smaller contracts. My workload went down and I was able to spend more time on my doctoral research, and I had a job for another four years. This enabled me to concentrate on my doctorate, establish teaching credentials, and publish emerging parts of my thesis. After the four years, however, I would need to look for a permanent position. Within three months of gaining the Assistant Lectureship I fell pregnant with my first child.

The birth of our son meant that my needs for job security and continuation of income became very important to me. I began looking for permanent employment 18 months ago. Our son was eighteen months old and my partner and I had a combined student debt of $40,000. We both required permanent full-time paid employment. There were mentions from within my department that I 'might' get permanent full-rime work, however, I was never 'promised' employment. I needed a guarantee of employment to ensure that our son's needs would continue to be met. We were unsuccessful in our job search because we had not completed our doctorates. There are seven universities in New Zealand and in the last five years there has been reduced government funding in the tertiary education sector. Most of the universities have responded by making redundancies. Throughout our job search we have been in competition with international academics, and at times, they were hired over us.

At the beginning of the doctoral research I set two goals for myself. The first was to complete on time and the second to gain a lecturing position at the end of the process. I have made consistent progress to complete on time and have 'created' an academic Curriculum Vitae suitable for gaining a lecturing position. Recently I applied for a lectureship position in the department I have worked in for the last seven and a half years. It is the same job that I have been doing for the last four years as an Assistant Lecturer. I have been partially successful in this application. I have been offered a one-year-fixed term contract. If I complete my doctorate within this time the contract will become a permanent position. If I do not successfully complete in one year I will be out of work. In contrast, over the last five years, I have witnessed many other candidates gain permanent full-time lectureships without this condition being imposed. Many have retained employment even though they have taken much longer to complete doctoral study than anticipated.

Like my brothers, my career path resembles several of the descriptive career models. Initially, my work patterns reflected the transitory career model where I changed jobs frequently. There is an element of the linear model where I have gained upward movement within the lower ranks of my current position. However, these lower positions have effectively been on the periphery of academia, and in this respect my employment experiences in the last seven-and-a-half years reflect Handy's (1989) description of the portfolio career. My most recent appointment is still reflective of the portfolio career as the job is still a fixed-term contract.

13.2.4 Commonalties of Our Wonderful Careers

If we are to believe the rhetoric of contemporary career management and development discourse, theory, and practice, my brothers and I are examples of three successful career stories. We view paid employment as the preferred means to take care of our own and our families' needs. We have maintained employment for the majority of the past two decades. We have been proactive in upskilling ourselves to gain and maintain paid employment. Part of our upskilling has involved government-funded education as well as personal financial contribution to study and training. The government

contribution to my tertiary education alone is in excess of $100,000. We have been willing to temporarily leave partners to move town for work. Indeed there are multiple descriptive career models to lend support to the interpretation that we have successful careers. However, these descriptive career models do not reflect all of our life experiences associated with access to employment.

Our day-to-day life experiences, as expressed by these short career stories, illustrate the theoretical themes (discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four), in that we have managed ourselves through managing our career to fit as best we can within the broader framework of global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility. Our stories also illustrate the personal outcome associated with the statistical observations that the current environment has led to global trends of over-, under- and unemployment, downward pressure on incomes and deteriorating work conditions for many. We are evidence that these trends extend work-life into our family life, and that we have reduced ability to democratically participate in the policy direction of our places of employment and our nation.

That we have managed ourselves and our 'careers' is evidenced by our translation of our 'individual' desires to gain and remain in paid employment and pursue a career into the engagement in activities that would ensure these outcomes. Examples of the things we have done to achieve these goals include that we have all sought higher education or training specifically to enhance our employment or career prospects, I have undertaken voluntary work to gain access to paid employment, and we have all moved town to pursue paid employment, career progression, or education.

Between the three of use, we have experienced over-, under- and unemployment, downward pressure on incomes and deteriorating working conditions. We all have at times worked longer than a forty hour week, currently both brothers routinely work in excess of forty hour weeks. I have experienced periods of 'under-employment' when I had less work than I desired and insufficient numbers of hours to earn an adequate income. While I had access to 'student loans' (the government scheme to provide

loan funding to tertiary students) I borrowed the short-fall. Once I no longer had access to student loan money, I held multiple part-time jobs. Two of us have experienced unemployment over the last fifteen years.

The deterioration in our income and working conditions has taken many forms. While our eldest brother has continued to achieve pay rises, his work conditions have deteriorated as a result of moving into managerial levels, where he is expected to work long hours. The middle brothers work conditions and pay rates have continued to decline over the last decade as a result of several redundancies, even though he has skills that are in short supply in New Zealand. After each redundancy, the replacement work was at lower rates of pay and required longer working hours. My experiences illustrate the impact of contractual arrangements on pay and working conditions. The design of the Doctoral Assistant position, and particularly the part-time fixed term nature of the contract, was to enable two part-time employees to be hired at the cost of one employee. While the contract stated an average of twenty hours of work per week, I was working in excess of these hours in order to complete the many tasks associated with the job and also to create a Vitae to enable me a 'chance' at gaining more permanent employment. In this respect, my actions are very reminiscent of Grey (1994) and Fournier's (1996) arguments that individuals use the discourse of 'career' as espoused within the context of the organisation to create a 'self'. In my case I was trying to create 'a budding academic' worthy of gaining permanent, secure, and well paying employment.

The combining effect of the employment insecurity, job movement to gain employment, career progression or education, long hours of work, and deteriorating pay and conditions of work has had direct impact on our families. The low pay levels have had an impact on the material circumstances of our lives, including our ability to pay for essential services such as dentist treatment and doctor visits. Currently, one brother is in receipt of 'Income Support', the government subsidy directed at low-income families. Our long hours of work has meant that we are physically absent from our families, yet, not necessarily contributing to improving the welfare of our

family – except to say we stayed employed. In the case of my brothers, the physical separation from family has also included moving towns, for one, to gain upward mobility, and then sideways movement, and for the other, to merely remain employed. Each of these absents has meant their wives have been left to manage the children, the cost of running two households, and of course, the separation of their family units.

While we have actively participated in the processes of changing ourselves to fit what is offered in the employment environment, I do not believe we have had control in the processes of the organisational changes that led to our employment conditions. Rather, these changes were made without our participation or consent. Our consent was 'given' not because we agreed to these new conditions, but because we acted upon the self to meet the new requirements. The punishment for not doing so would likely to have been job loss, or the inability to find new employment when we were unemployed. I also believe that currently we can not influence the political processes that determine the legal and economic frameworks characteristic of global neo-liberalism and organisational and labour flexibility.

Despite our best efforts to make ourselves employable, job security has been beyond our control. Two of us have experienced several periods of unemployment in the past. Further, we have all experienced worked incredibly long hours to maintain employment and to earn enough money to sustain our families and ourselves. We have worked unsociable hours, forgoing time spent with our partners and children. We have all experienced stress as a result of over-work, employment insecurity, and low income. We have not had access to determining the direction of political and economic change, organisational restructuring, or the changing shape of work. Rather our individualised actions have been in response to changes. We have participated in the creation of changes to work through re-fabricating ourselves to remain employed. Unwittingly, we have participated in the process of institutionalising global downward pressure on incomes and working conditions by accepting the only jobs available to us. Yet our participation has been a result of our own needs to maintain employment, and as such, I believe we have had very little choice or power to do anything else.

The external environment and, for many people, the diminishing conditions of service associated with the processes of neo-liberalism are not addressed within the more popular and academic contemporary career management and development literature. Critical approaches to reviewing contemporary career discourse enable the macro-level environment to be considered and can provide the means to turn these considerations into new meanings and understandings. This translation may provide the basis for redefining and renegotiating our situation. The final section of this thesis explores the possibility of creating an environment where the espoused benefits of contemporary career can be achieved.

13.3 Creating a More Secure and Democratic Society

The contemporary career management and development literature uncritically draws upon the changes to employment as the impetus for individuals to rethink what it means to have a career. This literature suggests that we can all have a career if we prepare ourselves sufficiently, and that through this career we can meet our needs for well-being. Within the wider environment, however, I have argued that the process of individualised career planning cannot address the wider issues discussed in Chapters Two and Three. These issues include the changing shape of national governance, reduced democratic participation, the redistribution of employment and wealth, widening gaps between rich and poor within and between nations, downward pressure on incomes and deteriorating conditions of employment, contradictory trends of over-, under-, unemployment and unemployability, and the disparate outcomes for women and indigenous peoples.

This thesis has reflected upon the diminishing conditions of the lives of many who have been associated with the emergence of neo-liberalism. Within this environment, we all become vulnerable to economic and democratic marginalistaion as the concerns of profit maximisation are given greater priority than the material and social well-being of citizens. In this section I suggest that we must achieve a more secure and democratic society; one that can provide a structural environment where a properly managed career may bring benefits to individuals, organisations, and wider society.

We must create an educational experience that enables citizens to critically and democratically participate in setting the conditions of our economic behaviour. Such participation is unlikely to happen if we as people accept the normalising and often hegemonic effects of both neo-liberalism and contemporary career theory as 'givens'.

In this section I set out four of a number of ways in which I believe we can work towards the transformation of selves and the social and economic directions such 'selves' create. We need to 'widen' our understandings of free trade and consumerism beyond the current established meanings. By transforming our understandings of free trade and consumerism, we begin to establish an argument to reclaim our rights to national sovereignty and citizens' rights to participative in democracy. Employment and work need to be redefined, reshaped and re-warded to ensure that the social and economic well-being of citizens are considered features. The human rights infringements against women and indigenous people committed by denying them access to social, cultural, and economic well-being must be addressed in a society that claims social justice as a guiding moral principle. The work of women must be legitimised as contributing to a nation's economic and social well-being, and as such ought to be rewarded accordingly. The promises embedded within contemporary career management and development concepts, theories, and practices can only be achieved if we work towards creating a society that values social justice, reflective democratic participation of citizens, and the creation of secure employment and income.

13.1.1 Redefining Free Trade and Consumerism

Throughout this thesis I have argued against the uncritical acceptance of a narrow view of neo-liberalism based on an ontological view of the human being as a competitive individual who expresses democratic participation through active consumerism. Under the current discourse of neo-liberalism free trade has come to mean removing 'barriers' so businesses can gain access to the natural resources, goods and services markets, finance, labour pools, and consumers of another country. To create free trade governments have liberalised economies and downsized the function

of the state by withdrawing state ownership and control of public assets, downgrading welfare provision, and reducing the number of state employees. Investment incentives to multinational companies have included the offering of cheap labour, free land, ready-built infrastructure, low and sometimes no taxes, repatriation of profits, and minimal employment and environmental standards. Despite a growing interest in responsible business, the predominant pressure is to increase profitability through increasing productivity by lowering operating costs, including the costs of labour, resources and finance.

'Free trade' may be redefined as 'cost-transfer trade'. The costs of 'free trade' can be argued to have been transferred to citizens, many of whom have paid for it in terms of reduced income and deteriorating working conditions, reduced welfare safety nets, and increased over-employment, under-unemployment, and unemployability for themselves and members of their community. Citizens have also paid the cost of free trade with their health and lives as environmental and health and safety standards have been lowered or ignored. Tax incentives to business effectively translate to citizens paying for the development of infrastructure that allows business to prosper. The benefits of this system have been shown to have disproportionately enhanced the wealth of a diminishing group of elites.

Transforming the definition of free trade to cost-transfer trade enables a transformative redefinition of consumerism. Embedded in the discourse of consumerism is the notion that the end-users should pay for the services and goods they consume. Cost-transfer trade implies that under the current system, multinational corporations and business are the 'users', and indeed the beneficiaries of free trade. Multinational corporations are enabled to use the resources (including citizens) of another country but are not necessarily required to pay the full cost of the use of those resources. Profits are repatriated to the country of origin of the multinational.

I am arguing in the first instance that in order to meet capitalism on its own terms we must ensure that all costs are included in the calculation of a product or process:

material, human and environmental. Intrinsic to this process must also be a human decision on the value to be accorded to the components; for example, what is a fair minimum wage, safe conditions of service, responsible use of resources of water, earth and air. These decisions (if the capitalist is not to be left to minimise their value) requires a robust democracy that sets the values and the rules. In my thesis I have argued that the increasing hegemonic influence of neo-liberal proselytisers and policy makers will make this a difficult position to achieve. Growing protests over the disparate outcomes of free trade indicate there is increasing numbers of people insisting on these considerations. I advocate for an invigorated democratic process, including a liberatory pedagogic approach to education (Boyce, 1996), so that we may participate in making reflective decisions on how to manage our economy and resources. The value of a liberatory pedagogical approach to education as contributing to creating political awareness has been illustrated in this thesis by presenting the reflective stories written by the career counsellor after she had participated in a university paper taught using such an approach.

13.3.2 Reclaiming National Governance and Democracy

In Chapter Two I argued that one outcome of global neo-liberalism has been the change to the nature of national governance. Increasingly, nation states are designing domestic, economic, political and legal policy to meet the dictates of multinational institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank), regional institutions (e.g. the OECD, APEC and so on), trading blocs (e.g. the North American Free Trade Agreement, the European Union), and increasingly multinational corporations and domestic business. Washington (1996) argued this process of aligning internal policy to the needs of external institutions and organisations is effectively a "voluntary pooling of sovereignty" (p. 1.). From this standpoint, sovereignty is 'pooled' around the interests of multinational businesses and is achieved through the de-regulation of many national economies. I believe that deregulation has shifted power away from citizens to determine political and economic direction of nations. Citizen interests have been redefined and represented as individual interests, to be met predominantly through a supposed ethic of consumer

sovereignty, under which the ultimate 'user' as 'participant' effectively eliminates the poor from participation. Citizens are increasingly required to take responsibility for managing themselves within this wider environment. There has been growing recognition of both the social costs and risk to political stability now associated with this method of economic policy. Some advocates and apologists for neo-liberalism have advocated a Third Way, but not a return to the social system demonised as 'welfarism'. The prospect of regenerating national governance and sovereignty and democracy by adopting Third Way practices is limited because this approach still adheres to the principles of free trade, individualism, minimal government welfare provision and a low wage employment sector.

Reclaiming national governance sovereignty and regenerating social democracy requires a political mind shift. Nation state governments must reclaim their role as representatives of the people and allow citizens to participate in determining the economic and political direction of their societies. Groups representing the interests of citizens, labour unions, environmentalists, and non-government organisations must have participative access to free trade talks. Multiple interests need to be considered and balanced. Citizens' rights to participation in the direction of their society must be upheld.

Reclaiming national sovereignty and democracy provides a frame whereby citizens can choose a system that supports national ownership and management of assets; for example, power and telecommunication networks, and transportation systems. Collectively citizens can determine what assets provide social benefits and, as such, should remain in the control of governments and citizens. Such assets could be managed to achieve social, cultural and environmental goals; for example, to provide an efficient and affordable power supply, or to create employment. Any surplus operating funds would be retained within the country to offset the cost of ensuring all citizens have access to the necessities of life. Reclaiming the right of national ownership of assets necessarily requires a redefinition of the costs and benefits associated with free trade. It also requires the concomitant generation of a collective

consciousness-raising, focused on the vulnerabilities each of us share under such an economic system.

13.3.3 Reclaiming Secure Employment and Income, and Redefining Work

Governments have de-regulated labour markets to enhance the employers' ability to re-shape, 're-ward' and to redistribute employment on a global scale. Contradictory trends of over-employment, under-employment, unemployment and unemployability, and widening gaps between rich and poor have emerged as access to secure, well-paid and safe employment has been undermined for many. Governments have also reduced welfare safety nets and instigated welfare-to-work schemes, claiming that individuals ought to be responsible for their own welfare provision through access to paid employment. Governments have also continued to deny the economic and social contributions and value of work that is primarily performed by women in the home and community. Where policies pressure single parents (often women) into insecure, low paid employment, the stability of home and community is undermined.

By drawing on our reclamation of democracy, national governance and sovereignty, we can regulate the conditions of employment. We can define the number of hours to be worked in a day and minimum levels of income to fit the needs of the community and not the needs of an absent business interest. The length of the working day must take into consideration an individuals health issues, family and community responsibilities, and leisure needs. Defining working hours could enable a more even redistribution of employment hours and income. Reducing the hours of the over-employed, for example, could reduce the numbers of under-employed, unemployed and unemployable. This would bring many benefits to the wider community. Reduced hours of work for the over-employed could enable them to participate in their family and community life. Increased hours of work for those experiencing under-employment and unemployment could result in their ability to participate more fully in the economic activities of their community. More secure employment would be achieved if governments enable greater retention of wealth within their countries.

Where employment security cannot be guaranteed, governments could use the wealth retained within the country to support those who are out of work to access the necessities of life. Support could take many forms, including welfare payments that meet minimum living standards, access to affordable education that could lead to employment, access to affordable health care, and strengthening community groups to ensure that while unemployed, people do not become socially isolated and marginalised. A number of proposals have been offered, for example, a universal basic income (Briar, 1997).

There is also a need to value the economic and social contribution of those individuals who are not in paid employment. The activities and the status of at-home parents, the unemployed and the unemployable need be redefined. Their contribution to raising children, participating in community groups, and caring for their extended families reduces the cost of welfare provision to the state. It is in the interests of the state, the tax payer, and the wider community to ensure that these people are re-conceived from welfare recipients to active members of society that are performing essential work. If we re-conceive welfare recipients in this way, then we can also ensure that they have access to the necessities of life, and access to community groups as active participants. Active and valued participation in community groups ought to help reduce the incidences of social isolation and the negative consequences associated with unemployment. There needs to be an invigorated public debate, an unlikely development unless we 'conscientize' (Freire, 1970) sufficient people to begin and carry out the process required to re-educate ourselves about our incapacitation under the current system and our capacity to actively seek socially just change.

13.3.4 Reclaiming the Rights of Women and Indigenous People

Under a new system where democracy, national governance and sovereignty, secure well-paid employment, and the valuing of unpaid work in the home and community provides an environment where the material circumstances of women globally can be addressed. It would not be possible to take well-paid work from Western women and have Third World women do it for lower rates of pay if governments protected the

interests and rights of women workers to fair pay in safe working environments. Nor would it be possible to re-fabricate Western women as consumers and Third World women as producers under a system that recognises the paid and unpaid contribution of women to the community. The contribution of the subsistence work of Third World women to meet the material needs of their families' would be valued more highly than multinational corporate investment in employment that pays poverty wages and repatriates significant profit to the corporation.

Similarly, the welfare of indigenous people would be improved when the rights of citizens are considered valid. Thus, the ability of multinational corporations to access their resources would be restricted to partnerships where the community interests and circumstances are improved. Thus multinational corporations would need to pay for resources such as land, provide secure well-paid and safe employment, pay taxes to contribute towards the development and maintenance of the host nations infrastructure, and be responsible for the environment. Alternatively, indigenous people and Third World nations could refuse multinational corporate access without fear of economic or political reprisal from more powerful nations backing the multinationals.

13.4 Concluding Thoughts: Celebrating Contemporary Career

If we are to choose to create an environment that celebrates national governance and sovereignty, that focuses on the needs of the wider community, and one that creates employment and income security for all, then the contribution of contemporary career management and development and the role of the career expert is worthy of celebration.

The contemporary career discourse, theory, and practice would have new meaning. Indeed, such an environment would support the claim of Greenhaus et al. (1996) and others that career is composed of all aspects of our lives, including paid work, unpaid work, and leisure time. In this environment the work of career experts and, indeed, Career Services *rapuara* would shift from obscuring wider political and economic

changes, to one of providing valuable services that could help us plan for our work and non-work lives around our own interests. Thus we could seek career information, advice, and guidance with the express purpose of understanding what different jobs entail. During times of personal unemployment we could seek career services to help us explore what types of employment are available and how we might access desirable forms of employment, training, and education.

A society that values equally the paid and unpaid contribution of its members would ensure that we all have access to the means of survival. In such a society, a properly managed career would result in individual, organisational, and societal benefits, as claimed by advocates of contemporary career discourse, theory, and practices. Security of income enables people to freely plan career moves throughout their lives. Those of us who become unemployed, sick, injured, elderly, or responsible for dependants, would have access to health care, adequate housing, food, and community participation. Thus, access to education and training could facilitate our re-entry into paid employment when we are physically capable, or are no longer responsible for childcare, or elder care. The work of career service providers would become part of a system of critical awakening: that of empowering community participation and strengthening democratic participation in our communities. In such an environment, we would all share responsibility for our community, including the development of our individual life paths, and ultimately share in the outcomes of our collective endeavours. If we choose to create such an environment, then, I too want a 'career'.

13.5 Future Directions for Research

This thesis has sought to make a theoretical contribution to our understanding of the links between the discourses of global neo-liberalism, flexibility and career. The empirical research was designed to gain critical insight into how contemporary career management and development discourse is used to facilitate disciplining contemporary selves to better match the notion of individualism as espoused by the global neo-liberalism and flexibility discourses. While these goals have been met,

there is a need for more critical research to strengthen our understanding of the linkages between contemporary career discourse and the fabrication of individuals.

First, in keeping with the work of Grey (1984 and Fournier (1996), more research is required to gain greater insight into how the discourse of contemporary careers is used to discipline employers within an organisational context. Such research may provide greater insight into the processes associated with individuals 'managing themselves' in accordance with organisational requirements of what is deemed a 'good employee'.

Second, more research needs to be conducted that makes explicit the links between career intervention and actual employment outcomes for those targeted by the state. There is a lack of evidence to support the thesis that career intervention will lead to paid employment for those in the receipt of welfare payments. Furthermore, more research is needed to investigate whether entry into paid employment improves the life circumstances of those who do find employment. This research ought to provide information about the nature of employment gained in terms of hours worked, pay levels, health and safety issues, and the impact of being involved in paid employment on family, particularly for single parents who have been targeted for welfare-to-work schemes.

A third and related research theme would be to investigate the assumption that career intervention creates employment. Included in this theme would be an investigation into how career intervention enables individuals to re-train or re-educate to 'fill' the requirements in supposed growth industries. Again, the issue of improved life circumstances necessarily must be investigated with in this theme if the claims of contemporary career theorists are to be upheld.

Fourth, the claim that higher educational attainment will lead to improved employment prospects needs investigation. Evidence suggests that while there is currently a skill shortage any many industries, higher education attainment has not necessarily translated into high wages for all. Rather there is evidence that the

deterioration of individuals without tertiary education has led to the wage gap between the two groups.

Fifth, more research is required to strengthen the argument that the construct of career is a new technique for assimilating individuals into the wider socio-political, economic and cultural supra-structure that I have termed global neo-liberalism.

Finally, research into how we can resist globalisation in its current form is needed. The goal of this research is to regain democracy and national sovereignty. Such research may be conducted at various levels of society, ranging from the activities if non-government organisations through to the campaign efforts that organise global level protests. The voice and considerations of those of us who are increasingly concerned about the direction of globalisation needs to be heard. Thus, more effort is required into the formulation of an effective means to gain true representation within the political structures that are frequently determining the shape and conditions of the minute activities of our day-to-day life experiences.

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List of Appendices

Appendix One

Ethics Committee Application

Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and it is being supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. I can be contacted by e-mail or by phone:

sdyer@waikato.ac.nz

(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Overview and Goal of the Study

This research project examines processes involved with career management techniques within an organisational context. Contemporary career management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation. In this way, contemporary career management theory and models have redefined what it means to have a career. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, a new definition of career is emerging that suggests a person's career is determined by any move or job that they have, regardless of whether it is in the same organisation or whether it is considered an upward move. This new way of defining a career has in part been in response to the way organisations restructure, that is, there are fewer jobs at the top, and increasingly fewer organisations being able to promise a job for life. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of work environment.

Methodology: Case Study using a Partial Ethnography

An instrumental case (Stake, 1998) will be selected based on the organisations ability to illustrate key concepts and theoretical issues with respect to contemporary career management techniques. Data will be collected using the partial ethnography method (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). The partial ethnography has three phases: ethnographic work, situational observation, and interviews. Different type of data and data collection techniques are used in each phase.

Ethnographic Phase: This phase is designed to gain background knowledge about the organisation. Of particular interest is to gain an understanding of the history of the organisation and how this has led to current career management practices, and statistical demographic information on the organisation. A semi-structured interview guide will be used to facilitate gathering this information (attachment one). In addition, unstructured interviews and conversations will be used in this phase to gain an understanding of the career management techniques used in the organisation and how they are used (see attachment two for thematic guide for these interviews and conversations). Key informants who have an understanding of these issues will be interviewed (for example the Human Resource Manager, departmental heads). The background material will form a descriptive chapter within the research project. The outcome of the ethnographic phase is to gain insight to choose an appropriate situation to observe.

Situational Focus: Two situations will be selected based on the information gathered in the ethnographic phase. The first situation will illustrate how career management techniques are used with current employees as a tool to guide their career planning. The second situation will illustrate how career management techniques can be applied to employees who have been or are about to be made redundant or are unemployed to guide their career planning to regain employment. The situations can be meetings, career planning seminars, conversations and so on. The situations are observed and then described within the text of the research.

Interviews: The situation observed may be followed up with interviews to gain better insight into how participants felt about their involvement in the situation. These interviews will be developed as an outcome of the situational observation phase. If a

suitable situation cannot be found within the organisation, unstructured interviews and conversations may be used instead to gain insight into the processes of applied career management techniques as a way to guide career planning.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

Academically, the main outcome of interest to me is to gain insight into the processes of current career management techniques. Organisationally, the outcomes of interest might be an insight into how employees perceive the career management programme in place and may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers and the organisation.

Participants

Recruitment: Participants will be invited to be a part of the research. All participants will be given a copy of the 'Research Information Sheet' (attachment three) so they may choose whether to be involved in the research. The number of participants will be kept small.

Involvement: Participant involvement will be through interviews and being observed. All participants who are interviewed or observed will be voluntarily involved.

Incentives/Compulsion: The only incentive to participate will be that of being involved in a research project. There will be no compulsion to participate.

Right to Withdraw: All participants will have the right to withdraw from all or part of the research, including refusing to answer questions and requesting that part of their responses not be included in the study. To facilitate this interview transcriptions will be returned to participants for their continued consent, partial or complete withdrawal. Once participants have agreed to use the material at this phase it will be used in the research. However, withdrawing information from the observed situation may be difficult given the nature of the data collection technique, that of observing a situation with multiple actors and using field notes to describe the situation. Participants will be made aware of this difficulty and that the intention to publish findings in academic literature and as a summary report to all participants prior to agreeing to participate in

the situation in the 'Research Information Sheet' and the 'Participant Consent Form' (attachment four).

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research.

Publications and Reports

Participants will be informed on the Research Information Sheet and Consent Form that all material gathered will be written up (either described or transcribed) within the Doctoral Thesis, and parts of the material will be used in academic publications, conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation and each participant. However, the identity of participants will be kept confidential in any publications or reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. Material will be kept for five years and then disposed of through the university system.

Additional Ethical Considerations

Value Of Research

There are clear goals for this research. The material collected will enable an understanding to be gained into the processes and value of contemporary career management techniques in organisations.

Informed Consent

Participants will be informed about the research project in terms of the interest in gaining insight into the process of career management techniques as ways to help individuals manage their own careers within the current work environment. Potential participants will be informed that the research methods used will include interviews, observation, and conversations. These may be described or tape-recorded where

appropriate. Participants can choose to be a part of the research project based on this information. Participants will know that they are involved in an observation relating to the research and that withdrawing information from the observation may be difficult because the situation will be described in aggregate hence linking comments to specific individuals may not be possible to. They will be told that publication of aggregate findings will be attempted. Participants will be given a consent form and research outline sheet.

Privacy and Confidentiality

All information gathered will be presented in the Doctoral thesis as descriptions of what went on, or as transcripts of interviews unless participants have asked that certain parts or all of their information not be included. The identity of the participants and the location of the work site will be keep confidential. Where appropriate and agreed to, the actual organisation may be identified, where this is not agreed to, and it is unlikely that the organisation can be described in a generic way, then an alternative organisation will be chosen. All information gathered will be stored in such a way as to ensure the privacy of those involved in the research. No person, other than those involved in the research (the researcher, PhD supervisors, and a research assistant where appropriate) will have access to the research data. Where a research assistant is used to type material, they will not have access to names or other identifying information. Data will be disposed of using the University's system for confidential material.

Minimisation of Risk

Apart from ensuring the confidentiality of participants (as discussed above) there are no risks to participants.

Limitation of Deception

There is no deception in this research. Respondents will be informed about what information I am gathering and that the information is aimed at gaining an understanding of applied career management techniques. However, I think it is

inappropriate to discuss or explain the theoretical models that I will use to interpret and analyse the information (the academic side of this research) simply because these models attempt to analyse material and processes from a particular perspective. The reason for not discussing this is to prevent respondents 'matching their stories' with what they think I want to hear.

Social and Cultural Sensitivity

Steps will be used to ensure that social and cultural sensitivity throughout data collection and dissemination of results. Interviews will be held in places that are acceptable to the interviewees', participation in the observed event will be voluntary, and appropriate forms of address will be used.

Exploitation of Relationships

There is no exploitation in this study. There are no rewards or sanctions to the researcher (apart from the research forming the empirical material for my PhD) or to the participants for being (or not being) involved in the study.

Respect of Property Rights

This research project will use a qualitative approach to gathering data (interviews, observation). While an initial theoretical framework has been developed, emerging academic themes may also be used to analyse the material. As part of the research process, participants will be asked for clarification of their views and comments, and where appropriate be given copies of their own scripts to review, change and withdraw where they think is appropriate. Summary reports will be given to all participants and management at the end of the process. Gaining an understanding of applied career management techniques resulting in academic literature is the main focus of the research, and as such the project has been set up with this in mind. Due to this, it may be more appropriate to write a secondary report that is of more interest and value to the organisation. It is not my intent to 'research the organisation', rather, I am interested in evaluating applied contemporary career management techniques and

the organisation need only have career management practices in place to be considered eligible for participation in this research.

Declaration of Conflict of Interests

There is no conflict of interests in this study. I am not being sponsored or commissioned in this research project.

Attachment One:

Background Information Interview Schedule and Guide

The type of information sought about the background of the organisation is an attempt to gain an understanding of the organisation. Organisational documents and records will be useful to gather most of this type of data. I will also interview key informants that are able to provide insight into the areas of interest. The following questions are a guide only to start gaining insight into the organisation. Additional questions may emerge and be asked to gain a better understanding of the organisation.

Background Questions

What is the purpose of this organisation?

What types of restructures have occurred during the 1984 – 1999 period?

Why were these restructures deemed necessary? What were they in response to?

What has been the impact of these restructures on the organisation in terms of:

- the type of jobs now available,
- the type of career paths that are now available in comparison to what career paths existed before the restructuring, and
- the number of employees within the organisation both before and after restructuring.

Are there organisational charts or other documents that represent these changes?

How is career defined here?

Who has access to these careers within the organisation?

Are there career management techniques in place that have been used to help employees adjust to the changes that have occurred?

Who is eligible to participate in career management training?

Who conducts this training?

How is career management training conducted?

What are the key indicators for having a successful career within this organisation? How are these indicators measured?

Have career management techniques been used to help people plan for their being made redundant from this organisation? Or used to help people leave the organisation to pursue a career somewhere else?

What were the criteria used to make people redundant?

Are people leaving the organisation for reasons other than being made redundant? What are these reasons for leaving?

Demographic information

What have been the staffing numbers both before and after restructuring?

What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff?

What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff by position and pay scale?

What are the pay scales by position?

What is the average length of service?

What are the ages of people in the organisation? What were the ages of those people made redundant?

Attachment Two:

Thematic Script for Conversations and Unstructured Interviews

While interviews and conversations will be unstructured, the following themes will guide them. Two scripts are presented here, the first to gain insight into selecting a situation to observe that will illustrate career management techniques applied to workers; the second to help gain insight into choosing a situation that will illustrate

how career management techniques may be used for those who are about to be made redundant, have been made redundant or are unemployed seeking new work.

Thematic script for current/retained employees

How do you define career?

What types of careers and career paths are you aware of in this organisation?

How long have you been at this organisation? How has the organisation changed in the time that you have been here? In the time that you have been here has the organisation restructured or made layoffs? How have these changes affected the type of careers available in this organisation?

How is career defined here?

In what ways does the organisation help people achieve their aspirations of having a career here?

How do managers tell you what is needed or desirable to have a career here?

- Skills
- Attitudes
- Commitment
- Hours of work

How does the organisation manage restructuring for retained employees?

Are career management techniques used in the organisation?

- Performance appraisals? Career planning seminars? Training? Exit planning sessions?

Have you been involved in any form of career planning?

What did you get out of it?

Have you done anything to change yourself to keep your job or to have a career here?

Have you seen others do things to help keep their job or have a career here?

Have there been changes to the amount of work and the number of employees?

Thematic script for ex-employees made redundant, employees about to be made redundant, or the unemployed

How were you informed about the organisations plan to restructure and cut jobs?

How were you informed about losing your job?

What has the organisation done to help your transition from being an employee to being unemployed or redeployed, or take early retirement?

What were the reasons given to you for your redundancy?

Did you expect redundancy?

How inevitable was redundancy in general?

What were the causes for people being made redundant?

Have you been involved in career management techniques to help you adjust to losing your job?

What were these techniques? Were those techniques helpful?

Have you done something to yourself to gain future employment as a result of the career planning techniques? If so what? Why did you do these things to yourself? In what way do you think making such changes will get you another job? What other factors do you think might influence the type of job that you get?

Attachment Three:

Research Information Sheet

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer

sdyer@waikato.ac.nz

(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Overview and Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into the processes involved with career management techniques within an organisational context. Contemporary career

management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation. In this way, contemporary career theory and models have redefined what it means to have a career. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, a new definition of career is emerging that suggests a person's career is determined by any move or job that they have, regardless of whether it is in the same organisation or whether it is considered an upward move. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of career.

Data Collection Process

Data will be collected using three phases of background work, an observation, and interviews. Different type of data and data collection techniques are used in each phase.

Phase One Background Information Search: This phase is designed to gain background knowledge about the organisation. Of particular interest is to gain an understanding of the history of the organisation and how this has led to current career management practices, and statistical demographic information on the organisation. A semi-structured interview guide will be used to facilitate gathering this information. In addition, interviews and conversations will be conducted with people to gain an understanding of the career management techniques used in the organisation and how they are used. The background material will form a descriptive chapter within the research project. The outcome of phase one is to gain insight to choose an appropriate situation to observe. Phase one should take approximately six weeks, depending on how long it takes to gain an understanding of the organisation.

Phase Two Observation: Two situations will be selected. The first situation will illustrate how career management techniques are used with current employees as a tool to guide their career planning. The second situation will illustrate how career management techniques can be applied to employees who have been or are about to be made redundant or are unemployed to guide their career planning to regain employment. The situations can be meetings, career planning seminars, or

conversations. The situations observed will be described in full and included in the Doctoral report.

Phase Three Interviews: The situations observed may be followed up with interviews to gain better insight into how participants felt about their involvement in the situation. Such interviews will be developed as an outcome of the situational observation phase. If a suitable situation cannot be found within the organisation, unstructured interviews and conversations may be used instead to gain insight into the processes of applied career management techniques as a way to guide career planning.

Organisational Commitment

The estimated time frame for gathering data within the organisation is approximately three months. Most of this time will be spent gaining background information. Conversations and interviews may take several weeks depending. The two situations observed will present the least amount of time commitment, as the situations will be observed in real time. Apart from the time spent talking with participants and the time taken to find appropriate organisational material, no other request for organisational recourses will be made.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of current career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Organisationally, the outcomes of interest might be an insight into how employees perceive the career management programme in place and may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers and the organisation.

Participants

Recruitment: Participants will be invited to be a part of the research. The number of participants will be kept small (perhaps no more than 20), yet the number participants to be involved will depend on what information each provides at each phase.

Involvement: Participant involvement will be through interviews and being observed. All participants who are interviewed or observed will be voluntarily involved.

Incentives/Compulsion: The only incentive to participate will be that of being involved in a research project. There will be no compulsion to participate.

Right to Withdraw: All participants have the right to withdraw from all or part of the research, including refusing to answer questions and requesting that part of their responses not be included in the study. To facilitate this interview transcript or descriptions of conversations will be returned to participants for their continued consent, or partial or complete withdrawal. However, withdrawing information from the observed situation may be difficult because the situations observed will be described in aggregate, and linking comments to particular individuals may not be possible. However, because the information gathered in the observation will aggregated, it will not be possible for individual participants to be identified from the descriptions.

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research.

Publications and Reports

All the material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis except where participants have requested information be withdrawn. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation and each participant. However, the identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information or Withdrawal of Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project, or you want to withdrawal information please contact me by phone or email.

Attachment Four:

Participant Consent Form

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

I have read the 'Research Information Sheet' for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may contact Suzette Dyer by e-mail (**sdyer@waikato.ac.nz**) or phone (07 – 856 2889, ext. 8096) and ask further questions.

I understand that the information gathered as a result of this research project will form the basis of a Doctoral Thesis, and will be presented in academic journal articles, conferences, and as a summary sheet that will be given to management, other participants and myself. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential in all written material and that information gathered will be kept in a secure place.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions, or where I have answered questions, have my responses withdrawn. I understand that any information gathered in the situation that will be observed will be summarised and described so that no person within it can be identified. I also understand that withdrawing information from the situation observed might not be possible as the researcher might not be able to identify which aspects of the observation relate to me personally. All data will be destroyed after five years in a secure manner.

I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the information sheet.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Research Information Sheet.

	Participant	Researcher
Signed:	_____	_____
Name:	_____	Suzette Dyer
Date:	_____	

Researcher's Name and Contact Information:

Suzette Dyer
Assistant Lecturer and PhD student
Department of Strategic Management & Leadership
University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105 Hamilton.
E-mail: sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
Phone (07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Appendix Two
Initial Contact Letter and Organisational Research Overview

Appendix 2.1

E-mail Requesting Organisational Access: 3 March 2001

Dear Lester

Following from our conversation on Friday, I would like to formally request permission to carry out empirical research in Career Services for my Doctoral Research. I am enrolled in the Department of Strategic Management and Leadership, Waikato Management School, University of Waikato, doctoral programme. My research is being supervised by Doctor Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of Waikato University.

I am researching the impact of changes in organisational structures on careers. My research is in two parts. First, I am interested in how career management processes may help employees adjust to organisational structural changes. Second, I am interested in how career management processes may help the unemployed gain employment.

I have attached a copy of the research overview that includes the purpose of the research, the type of data I will be seeking, and the intended process used to gather data. I have also attached a copy of my timetable for the next three months indicating when I am available to research in that time frame. The Waikato Management School Ethics Committee has approved my research intent and design.

Currently Maria Humphries is my chief supervisor. As she is a member of the Board, this may represent a conflict of interests. If you do agree to allow me to research in the organisation and feel that having Maria as my first supervisor is a conflict of interests, Maria and I can make alternative arrangements for my supervision.

I would like to carry out my research in Career Services Rapuara as I believe the organisation offers multiple perspectives on the processes of career. I would like to ring you in a week to see if it is possible to carry out my research at Career Services. If you would like to contact me before then I can be reached on 856 2889 ext. 8096, (work), 07-847 9755 (home) or by e-mail at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz. My postal address is:

Suzette Dyer
Department of Strategic Management and Leadership
Waikato University
P.O. Box 3105
HAMILTON

I look forward to hearing from you

Regards Suzette Dyer

Appendix 2.2

Organisational Research Information Sheet: March 3 2001

Organisational Research Information Sheet

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

Successive New Zealand governments, through membership to international bodies such as the World Trade Organisation, have worked towards the acceptance and adoption of free trade. Advances in free trade to date have led to increased global competition for local New Zealand businesses. Responses to free trade have included some local firms introducing flexibility strategies, locating operations offshore, and firm closure. Many of these strategies result in organisational restructuring changing the nature, type and condition of employment. These changes to work have had direct implications for the type of careers available. In contrast to the notion of a 'traditional upward mobile career', a new definition of career is emerging in a growing body of contemporary career literature. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, the emerging definitions of career suggest that a person's career is determined by any work related experiences. A person's career may involve movements between jobs of the same rank within the same organisation, movements to new organisations, and include periods of unemployment. Contemporary career management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation, and from unemployment to employment. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of career.

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and I am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are: Suzette Dyer

sdyer@waikato.ac.nz

(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into career management processes designed to help individuals to adjust to the challenges of the contemporary work environment brought about by restructuring and for some, job loss. There are two goals of this research. First I want to investigate career management practices within an organisational context. The particular focus of this goal is to see how career

management programmes help employees adjust to the demands of changing organisations. The second goal is to investigate how career management processes help individuals who are unemployed gain employment. The particular focus of this goal is to gain an understanding of how applied career management techniques help citizens adjust to changing work conditions, opportunities, and unemployment. To do this I intend to use three distinct data gathering techniques as discussed below.

Data Collection Process

Data will be collected using three phases of background work, an observation of a 'typical' career management process, and follow up interviews with the people who were involved in the observed situation. Different type of data and data collection techniques are used in each phase.

Phase One Background Information Search: This phase is designed to gain background knowledge about the organisation. Of particular interest is to gain an understanding of the purpose and history of the organisation. The type of information sought in this phase include an understanding of the purpose and focus of the organisation, statistical demographic information (for example staffing numbers, pay levels, gender and ethnic composition, length of service), information about the type of restructuring programmes that have occurred and the impact these have had on jobs, careers, staffing numbers, career programmes, and the changing purpose and focus of the organisation.

A semi-structured interview guide has been developed to facilitate gathering statistical information (see attachment one). Semi-structured and unstructured interviews and conversations will be conducted with people to gain an understanding of the purpose of the organisation, the type of restructuring that have occurred, and the implications of restructuring on organisational careers (see attachment two). These interview questions are a guide only, and additional questions are likely to emerge as I gain understanding of the organisation. The background material will form a descriptive chapter within the research project. The outcome of phase one is to provide the basis

for choosing an appropriate situation to observe. Phase one should take approximately six weeks, depending on the accessibility of the necessary information.

Phase Two Observation: The focus of the research method that I am using is to observe a typical situation associated with career management programmes in the organisation. I am interested in observing two 'typical' situations to reflect the goals of the study. The first situation observed will illustrate how career management techniques are used with current employees as a tool to guide their career planning. The second situation will illustrate how career management techniques are applied to unemployed people who are clients of the organisation. The situations can be meetings, career planning seminars, or conversations. The situations observed will be described in full and included in the Doctoral report.

Phase Three Interviews: I intend to follow-up the observed situations with individual interviews with the participants to gain better insight into how they felt about their involvement in the situation. An initial set of questions have been developed that draw on key themes from career literature (see attachment three and four). Additional questions will be developed as an outcome of the situational observation phase. If a suitable situation cannot be found within the organisation, unstructured interviews and conversations may be used to gain insight into the processes of applied career management techniques as a way to guide career planning.

Organisational Commitment

The estimated time frame for gathering data within the organisation is approximately three months. Most of this time will be spent gaining background information. Conversations and interviews may take place over several weeks depending on the type of information that I gather at each interview. The two situations observed will present the least amount of time commitment, as the situations will be observed in real time. Apart from the time spent talking with participants and the time taken to find appropriate organisational material, no other request for organisational recourses will be made.

The background phase of the research and the situations observed will be described in detail within the doctoral thesis. This will include a detailed description of the organisation in terms of purpose, structures, goals and so on. This may lead to the Department being easily identifiable in the research. However, while the Department will be identified the particular branch, participants and clients that become involved in the research will not be identified in any way.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of contemporary career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Insights into how employees and the organisational clients perceive the career management programme now in place may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers, the organisation and the client base.

Participants

The research project will require participants who are willing to contribute and be part of the project. The following section briefly describes issues associated with participants in this research.

Recruitment: Participants will be invited to be a part of the research. The number of participants will be kept small (perhaps no more than 20). The number participants to be involved will depend on what information each provides at each phase.

Involvement: Participant involvement will be through interviews and being observed. All participants who are interviewed or observed will be voluntarily involved, there will be no compulsion for respondents to participate. All participants will receive a 'Respondent Information Sheet' outlining the research project including, the outcome of the project, and their rights as participants. Participants will also be given a 'Consent Form' to be signed by them stating they agree to be involved in the project.

Right to Withdraw: All participants will have the right to withdraw from all or part of the research, including refusing to answer questions and requesting that part of their

responses not be included in the study. To facilitate this interview transcript or descriptions of conversations will be returned to participants for their editorial comment and continued consent, or partial or complete withdrawal. However, withdrawing information from the observed situation may be difficult because the situations observed will be described in aggregate, and linking comments to particular individuals may not be possible. However, because the information gathered in the observation will be aggregated, it will not be possible for individual participants to be identified from the descriptions. Participants will be made aware of this before they agree to take part in the situations that will be observed.

Participant Safety: Because I am asking questions from employees and the unemployed, their identity will remain anonymous. This is particularly important to ensure that they do not feel that participation in the project will have negative implications for themselves (whether they are employees or members of the unemployed group).

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research.

Publications and Reports

All the material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis except where participants have requested information be withdrawn. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation and each participant. However, the identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Attachment One:

Background Organisational Demographic Information Guides

The following demographic information is sought to help gain an understanding of the impact of restructuring on the organisation in terms of staff numbers, pay, and gender and ethic composition of staff. Because organisational documents and records will be useful to gather most of this type of data a structured interview schedule has been developed. The interview schedule is presented in two parts. 'Part A' of the schedule is designed to gain initial demographic material based on the literature about careers. 'Part B will' comprise of a list of questions that emerge as a result of gaining insight from the questions in 'Part A'.

Part A: Demographic information

What have been the staffing numbers both before and after restructuring?

What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff?

What are the pay scales?

What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff by position and pay scale?

What are the pay scales by position?

What is the average length of service?

What are the ages of people in the organisation?

What were the ages of those people made redundant?

Part B: Emergent Demographic Questions

The questions that will be listed will be developed in response to the information gathered from Part A of the interview. These questions will be developed to help 'fill in the gaps' of my understanding of the organisation.

Attachment Two:

Organisational Background Interview Guides

The following questions listed in 'Part A' have been developed based on relevant themes found in the career literature to guide interviews and conversations aimed at gaining insight into the organisation. The questions have been grouped into three sections of organisational purpose, restructuring, and careers. 'Part B' will list additional questions that will emerged as a result of insight gained from 'Part A'.

Part A: Semi-structured Background Interview Guide

Organisational Purpose

What is the purpose of this organisation?

What was the organisation originally set up to do?

Have the restructures fundamentally changed the purpose of the organisation?

Restructuring

What types of restructures have occurred during the 1984 – 1999 period?

Why were these restructures deemed necessary?

What were the restructures in response to?

What has been the impact of these restructures on the organisation in terms of:

the type of jobs now available,

the type of career paths that are now available in comparison to what career, paths existed before the restructuring, and

the number of employees within the organisation both before and after restructuring.

Are there organisational charts or other documents that represent these changes?

Implications for Organisational Careers

How is career defined here?

Has this definition changed as a result of restructuring?

Who has access to these careers within the organisation?

Are there career management techniques in place to help employees manage their careers?

Are the current career management techniques different to past career management practices?

If so, what are the differences? And why are there differences between past and present career management planning techniques?

Who is eligible to participate in career management planning?

Who conducts career planning?

How is career management planning conducted?

What are the key indicators for having a successful career within this organisation? How are these indicators measured?

Have career management techniques been used to help people plan for their being made redundant from this organisation? Or used to help people leave the organisation to pursue a career somewhere else?

What were the criteria used to make people redundant?

Are people leaving the organisation for reasons other than being made redundant? What are these reasons for leaving?

Part B: Emergent Background Interview Questions

The questions that emerge from 'Part A' will be listed here.

Attachment Three:

Follow-up Interview Schedule and Guide for Situation One: A typical career planning session with current employees

This interview guide is in two parts. 'Part A' is designed around themes that have been highlighted throughout the thesis as being relevant to career processes. 'Part B' has been designed based on the insight gained from the interview material gathered from 'Part A' and from the situation observed.

Part A: Thematic Script for Current or Retained Employees

Generic Thematic Career Questions

How do you define career?

What types of careers and career paths are you aware of in this organisation?

How long have you been working at this organisation?

How has the organisation changed in the time that you have been here?

In the time that you have been here has the organisation restructured or made layoffs?

How have these changes affected the type of careers available in this organisation?

How is career defined here?

In what ways does the organisation help people achieve their career aspirations?

How do managers tell you what is needed or desirable to have a career in this organisation? For example how do managers encourage particular skills, attitudes, commitment, hours of work. What do managers mean by these terms? How do you know what they mean by these terms?

How does the organisation manage restructuring for retained employees?

Are career management techniques used in the organisation? For example: performance appraisals? career planning seminars? training? exit planning sessions?

Have you done anything to change yourself or your lifestyle to keep your job or to have a career here?

Have you seen others do things to help keep their job or have a career here?

Have there been changes to the amount of work done by individual employees?

Have there been changes to the number of employees in this organisation?

Follow-up Situational Thematic Questions

How did you become involved in the career planning situation?

What did you get out of it?

How do you feel about it?

What do you think the organisation gets out of these types of sessions?

Are these they only type things the organisation does to help people plan their careers?

Part B: Emergent Follow-up Questions for Situation One

These questions will be developed as a direct result of the insight gained from the situation observed.

Attachment Four:

Follow-up Interview Schedule and Guide for Situation Two: A typical career planning situation with the unemployed

Part A Generic Thematic Questions for the Unemployed

Have you ever had a job?

How many organisations have you worked for?

Have you been unemployed before? How often?

How did you become unemployed this time?

How were you told that you were going to loose your job?

What were the reasons given for your job loss?

What did your last employer do to help you when they announced your job would be gone?

How long have you been unemployed?

How do you define career?

How has becoming unemployed (or not gaining work) impact upon what you think it means to have a career?

What things have you done to help regain employment (for example retrain, volunteer work, job searches)?

What impact has loosing your job had on you? (for example how has it affected yourself/your family/your income/your leisure activities).

Situational Focus Questions

Part A

How were you told that you had to attend the session?

Did you have to go?

What would happen to you if you didn't go?

What would this mean for you?

Were you interested in going? Why?

What did you hope to get out of the session?

What did you get out of it?

Have you done anything since attending the session to help gain employment?

How hard was it for you to attend the session? (for example did you have to organise child care, transport, or being shy)

How did you feel about being involved in the session?

Have you been involved in other sessions like this one? Were they helpful?

Part B

Emergent Questions as a result of observing the situation

Appendix Three
Respondent Information Sheet and Consent Form

Appendix 3.1

Respondent Research Information Sheet

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

Successive New Zealand governments, through membership to international bodies such as the World Trade Organisation, have worked towards the acceptance and adoption of free trade. Advances in free trade to date have led to increased global competition for local New Zealand businesses. Responses to free trade have included some local firms introducing flexibility strategies, locating operations offshore, and firm closure. Many of these strategies result in organisational restructuring changing the nature, type and condition of employment. These changes to work have had direct implications for the type of careers available. In contrast to the notion of a 'traditional upward mobile career', a new definition of career is emerging in a growing body of contemporary career literature. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, the emerging definitions of career suggest that a person's career is determined by any work related experiences. A person's career may involve movements between jobs of the same rank within the same organisation, movements to new organisations, and include periods of unemployment. Contemporary career management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation, and from unemployment to employment. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of career.

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and I am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer
sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into career management processes designed to help individuals to adjust to the challenges of the contemporary work environment brought about by restructuring and for some, job loss. There are two goals of this research. First I want to investigate career management practices within an organisational context. The particular focus of this goal is to see how career management programmes help employees adjust to the demands of changing organisations. The second goal is to investigate how career management processes help individuals who are unemployed gain employment. The particular focus of this goal is to gain an understanding of how applied career management techniques help citizens adjust to changing work conditions, opportunities, and unemployment. To do this I intend to use three distinct data gathering techniques as discussed below.

Data Collection Process

Data will be collected using three phases of background work, an observation of a 'typical' career management process, and follow up interviews with the people who were involved in the observed situation. Different type of data and data collection techniques are used in each phase.

Phase One Background Information Search: This phase is designed to gain background knowledge about the organisation. Of particular interest is to gain an understanding of the purpose and history of the organisation. The type of information sought in this phase include an understanding of the purpose and focus of the organisation, statistical demographic information (for example staffing numbers, pay levels, gender and ethnic composition, length of service), information about the type

of restructuring programmes that have occurred and the impact these have had on jobs, careers, staffing numbers, career programmes, and the changing purpose and focus of the organisation.

Several semi-structured interview guides have been developed to facilitate gathering background material. One seeks to gain statistical information about the organisation. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews and conversations will be conducted with people to gain an understanding of their career interests, the type of careers the organisation offers, and the nature of their job. These interview questions are a guide only, and additional questions are likely to emerge as I gain understanding of the organisation. The background material will form a descriptive chapter within the research project. The outcome of phase one is to provide the basis for choosing appropriate situations to observe.

Phase Two Observation: The focus of the research method that I am using is to observe a typical situation associated with career management programmes in the organisation. I am interested in observing two 'typical' situations to reflect the goals of the study. The first situation observed will illustrate how career management techniques are used with current employees as a tool to guide their career planning. The second situation will illustrate how career management techniques are applied to unemployed people who are clients of the organisation. The situations can be meetings, career planning seminars, or conversations. The situations observed will be described in full and included in the Doctoral report.

Phase Three Interviews: I intend to follow-up the observed situations with individual interviews with the participants to gain better insight into how they felt about their involvement in the situation. An initial set of questions have been developed that draw on key themes from career literature. Additional questions will be developed as an outcome of the situational observation phase. If a suitable situation cannot be found within the organisation, unstructured interviews and conversations may be used

to gain insight into the processes of applied career management techniques as a way to guide career planning.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of contemporary career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Insights into how employees and the organisational clients perceive the career management programme now in place at Career Services may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers, the organisation and the client base.

Participants

Recruitment: Participants will be invited to be a part of the research.

Involvement: Participant involvement will be through interviews and being observed. All participants who are interviewed or observed will be voluntarily involved, there will be no compulsion for respondents to participate.

Right to Withdraw: You have the right to withdraw from all or part of the research, including refusing to answer questions and requesting that part of your responses not be included in the study. To facilitate this interview transcript or descriptions of conversations will be returned to you for your editorial comment and continued consent, or partial or complete withdrawal. However, withdrawing information from the observed situation may be difficult because the situations observed will be described in aggregate, and linking comments to particular individuals may not be possible. However, because the information gathered in the observation will be aggregated, it will not be possible for individual participants to be identified from the descriptions.

Participant Confidentiality: Your identity will be kept confidential. At no point will I reveal who you are or what you have said to other people in the Career Services.

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research.

Publications and Reports

All the material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis except where participants have requested information be withdrawn. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation and each participant. However, the identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Appendix 3.2

Participant Consent Form

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

I have read the 'Research Information Sheet' for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may contact Suzette Dyer by e-mail (sdyer@waikato.ac.nz) or phone (07 – 856 2889, ext. 8096) and ask further questions.

I understand that the information gathered as a result of this research project will form the basis of a Doctoral Thesis, and will be presented in academic journal articles, and conferences. A summary sheet outlining the research and its findings will be given to

management, other participants and myself. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential in all written material and that information gathered will be kept in a secure place.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions, or where I have answered questions, have my responses withdrawn. I understand that any information gathered in the situation that will be observed will be summarised and described so that no person within it can be identified. I also understand that withdrawing information from the situation observed might not be possible as the researcher might not be able to identify which aspects of the observation relate to me personally. All data will be destroyed after five years in a secure manner.

I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the information sheet.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Research Information Sheet.

Participant Researcher

Signed:_____

Name: _____ Suzette Dyer

Date: _____

Researcher's Name and Contact Information:

Suzette Dyer

Assistant Lecturer and PhD student

Department of Strategic Management & Leadership

University of Waikato,

Private Bag 3105 Hamilton.

E-mail: **sdyer@waikato.ac.nz**

Phone (07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Appendix Four

Initial Background Interview Guides

Appendix 4.1

Background Information Interview Guide: Career Services Branch Managers

This interview is in three parts. The first part asks questions about your career to date. The second section asks specific questions about the Career Planning Programme in Career Services and your experiences of them. The third section focuses on your role as a Career Counsellor in helping others obtain employment or plan for their career.

Part one: Your career

How do you define career?

Can you describe your career to date?

Part two: Career Management and Development Programme in Career Services

Organisational Factors Affecting Careers

How long have you been working at this organisation?

How do you fit in to the organisational structure?

How is career defined here?

What types of careers and career paths are you aware of in this organisation?

Restructuring Questions

How has the organisation changed in the time that you have been here? For example:

> Has the organisation restructured or made layoffs, increased staff numbers, redesigned how things are done?

How does the organisation manage restructuring for retained employees?

How does the organisation manage restructuring for laid of employees?

How have these changes affected the type of careers available in this organisation?

Have there been changes to the number of employees in this organisation?

Have you or other people you know of benefited form restructuring?

In what ways have they benefited? For example:

Increased income, better jobs, new or different career prospects.

What has been the result of these benefits to the workload?

Time commitment to the organisation?

Have there been changes to the amount of work done by individual employees?

Have the benefits gained by some people as a result of restructuring been at the expense of other people in the organisation? For example:

in terms of their job, employment security, pay levels, career prospects?

Organisational Career Management and Development Questions

In what ways does the organisation help employees achieve their career aspirations?

How do your managers tell you what is needed or desirable to have a career in this organisation? For example:

How do managers encourage particular skills, attitudes, commitment, hours of work.

What do managers mean by these terms?

How do you know what they mean by these terms?

As a manager how do you tell your staff what is needed or desirable to have a career in this organisation?

Are career management techniques used in the organisation? For example:

Performance appraisals? Career planning seminars? Training? Exit planning sessions?

Who carries out these techniques?

Have you done anything to change yourself or your lifestyle to keep your job or to have a career here?

Does your job impact upon your home life?

Have you seen others do things to help keep their job or have a career here?

Have you advised people to do things to themselves to have a career or maintain employment here?

Part three: Your Role as a Manager for Career Services

Can you describe for me what it is you do?

How does this role differ from Career Consultants?

Who is the predominant client base here?

Do the client bases have different needs?

How does Career Services accommodate the different needs of the client base?

What techniques do you employ to guide clients in career development?

Where do your clients come from?

Do all your clients have a choice to be here?

What happens to them if they do not take your advice or show up for an interview and so on?

Do you think you make a difference to the lives of your clients? How?

Are there things that you or the organisation could do to help people more?

Do you think the Service is able to achieve its goals in the current economic climate (of New Zealand, and within your own local area)?

How might the organisation better achieve the stated goals? Are the goals realistic?

Do you think that the goals need to be changed to reflect the current economic climate of New Zealand?

How are you able to express your views on the relevancy of the organisational goals towards the client base(s)? Is the Service able to respond to these issues?

Can the Career Services express concerns over their role as a Career Guidance Agency to government? To what extent are you aware that this has occurred?

Do you think that the notion of career used by the organisation is useful to apply to your client base? Which client base is it useful for and which bases is it not useful for?

Appendix 4.2

Background Interview Guide: Board Members

Your Career

Can you briefly describe your career for me?

Your Role with Career Services

How long have you been involved with the Career Services?

How did you become involved with Career Services?

What is your role within the Career Services?

Has your role changed in the time that you have been involved with Career Services?

Historical and Contemporary Role of Career Services

What is the role of the Career Services?

Who has defined this role?

In the time that you have been involved in the Service has the role changed?

What have been the changes? (ideological)

Who has instigated these changes?

What was the rationale for these changes?

What has been the impact of the changes to:

a) the way the Career Services is structured?

b) the philosophy and goals of the Career Services?

Have there been other manifestations of ideological changes in the Career Services? For example changes to the way people dress? Changes to staff composition (full-time/part-time/contractors?)

Do you think that Career Services helps people? How?

Do you think that Career Services could help people differently? How?

In your view are the current goals of Career Services achievable given the economic climate within certain regions and New Zealand more generally?

Appendix Five
Second Wave Interview Guides

Appendix 5.1

Generic Questionnaire for Respondents

Name:

Position:

Generic Questionnaire

To help save time during the interview slots I would like you to read these questions and write your responses to the questions that are relevant to you. Your responses may be as long or as short as you think necessary. These questions are designed to gain an understanding of the type of careers available in Career Services. This questionnaire is in three parts. Part one focuses on your personal career to date. Part two focuses on the organisational influences of the type of career paths available within career Services. Part three seeks to gain an understanding of the particular career management techniques that are used within Career Services to help employees manage their own careers. So that I may link these written responses with your interview material could you please put your name on your answers. However, please be assured that I will not reveal your responses to others. You may give me your responses while I am in Wellington, or e-mail them to me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz, or post them to me at:

Suzette Dyer
Department of Strategic Management and Leadership
Waikato University
P.O Box 3105
HAMILTON

Thank you for your time.

Part one: Your career

How do you define career?

Can you describe your career to date?

Part two: Organisational Influences on the Career Paths within Career Services

Organisational Factors Affecting Careers

How long have you been working at this organisation?

How do you fit in to the organisational structure?

How is career defined here?

What types of careers and career paths are you aware of in this organisation?

Structural Changes Affecting Careers

Has Career Services changed in the time that you have been here? For example:

> Has the organisation restructured or made layoffs, increased staff numbers, redesigned how things are done?

Restructured with Layoffs

How did the organisation manage restructuring for retained employees?

How did the organisation manage restructuring for laid off employees?

How did restructuring with layoffs affect the type of careers available Career Services?

Have you or other people you know of benefitted from restructuring resulting in layoffs?

In what ways have they benefitted? For example:

> Increased income, better jobs, new or different career prospects. Can you explain what benefits you or others have received.

What has been the result of these benefits to workload? For example have peoples workload increased commitment to the organisation?

Have the benefits gained by some people as a result of restructuring been at the expense of other people in the organisation? For example:

in terms of their job, employment security, pay levels, career prospects?

Increases in staff numbers

Have there been increases in staff numbers since you have worked at Career Services?

If so, why have there been increases in staff numbers?

Where have those increase been? For example at head office, within the branches, more consultants.

Has the increase in staff numbers changed the type of careers available? If so how?

Change in the Focus of Career Services

Have there been changes in the focus of Career Services since you have been there?

What has been the nature of those changes?

Who has been the driving force behind the changes? (for example were the changes instigated by Career Services, or as the result of changes in government policy).

Have there been changes to the culture of Career Services? How have those cultural changes manifested in the practices of employees? (for example, dress code, hours of work)

Organisational Career Management and Development Questions

In what ways does the organisation help employees achieve their career personal career goals?

How do your managers tell you what is needed or desirable to have a career in this organisation? For example do managers encourage particular skills, attitudes, commitment, hours of work. What is meant by these terms? How do you know what is meant by these terms?

Are career management techniques used in the organisation? For example:

Performance appraisals?

Career planning seminars?

Training?

Exit planning sessions?

Have you personally been involved in any of these techniques to help your career?

Are there other reasons why these techniques are used?

Who carries out these techniques?

Have you done anything to change yourself or your lifestyle to keep your job or to have a career here?

Does your job impact upon your home life?

Have you seen others do things to help keep their job or have a career here?

Have you advised people to do things to themselves to have a career or maintain employment here?

Appendix 5.2

Interview Guide Two: Branch Managers

Can you describe for me what it is you do?

How does this role differ from Career Consultants?

Who is the predominant client base here?

Do the client bases have different needs?

How does Career Services accommodate the different needs of the client base?

What techniques do you employ to guide clients in career development?

Where do your clients come from?

Do all your clients have a choice to be here?

What happens to them if they do not take your advice or show up for an interview and so on?

Do you think you make a difference to the lives of your clients? How?

Are there things that you or the organisation could do to help people more?

Do you think the Service is able to achieve its goals in the current economic climate (of New Zealand, and within your own local area)?

How might the organisation better achieve the stated goals? Are the goals realistic?

Do you think that the goals need to be changed to reflect the current economic climate of New Zealand?

How are you able to express your views on the relevancy of the organisational goals towards the client base(s)? Is the Service able to respond to these issues?

Can the Career Services express concerns over their role as a Career Guidance Agency to government? To what extent are you aware that this has occurred?

Do you think that the notion of career used by the organisation is useful to apply to your client base? Which client base is it useful for and which bases is it not useful for?

Does Career Services provide an opportunity for you to voice your insights or concerns and do they listen to you? Can you give examples.

Appendix 5.3

Interview Guide Two: Career Consultants

Can you describe for me what it is you do?

What techniques do you employ to guide clients in career development?

Where do your clients come from?

Who are your predominant client base?

Do your clients bases have different needs? How do you know what tey are?

How does Career Services accommodate the different needs of the client bases?

Do all your clients have a choice to be here?

What happens to them if they do not take your advice or show up for an interview and so on?

Do you think you make a difference to the lives of your clients? How?

Are there things that you or the organisation could do to help people more?

Do you think the Service is able to achieve its goals in the current economic climate (of New Zealand, and within your own local area)?

How might the organisation better achieve the stated goals? Are the goals realistic?

Do you think that the goals need to be changed to reflect the current economic climate of New Zealand?

How are you able to express your views on the relevancy of the organisational goals towards the client base(s)? Is the Service able to respond to these issues?

Can the Career Services express concerns over their role as a Career Guidance Agency to government? To what extent are you aware that this has occurred?

Do you think that the notion of career used by the organisation is useful to apply to your client base? Which client base is it useful for and which bases is it not useful for?

Does Career Services provide an opportunity for you to voice your insights or concerns and do they listen to you? Can you give examples.

Appendix 5.4

Interview Guide CEO Career Services

Interview for Lester CEO of Career Services

Historical Perspective

How long have you been here?

When was Career Services first established?

Who set up Career Services?

How was this achieved?

What was Career Services initially set up to do?

How was Career Services required to rethink its approach in light of the economic changes made by government in the late 1980s and early 1990s? What was the ideology behind those economic changes? And what were the implications for CS?

How was Career Services initially funded?

What was to happen to Career Services if it could not attract contestable funds?

Has the mandate of Career Services changed since the election of the current Labour government?

Has the funding regime change significantly under the Labour government?

What institutions does Career Services work with?

- Other government institutions?
- International institutions (i.e. other career services)

- Private career agencies?

What is the nature of the relationship with these other institutions?

What is your international role with other governmental (or private) Career Service agencies?

Who are Career Services clients?

Has the client base changed over time?

What relationship does career services have with the government?

Are you able to communicate your views/concerns/suggestions to government over the direction of Career Services?

How does Career Services implement its goals?

How do you feel about the role that Career Services plays in New Zealand society? (What is your morale commitment to this role/how do you se this role)

Appendix 5.5

Interview Guide: Manager Finance

How long have you been here?

How is Career Services currently funded?

Has the funding arrangement changed over time?

How do the changes in funding arrangements over time reflect the changes in government direction for Career Services?

What will happen to career Services if they do not gain contestable contracts?

Do you think that the funding is adequate for Career Services to achieve its goals?

What type of input do you have in establishing the direction of Career Services?

To what extent is the direction of Career Services determined by the sources of funding?

How much has funding determined the creation of the web and phone line? How do new initiatives get funded?

Do you see these initiatives as useful mechanisms to provide information and advice to New Zealand citizens?

Appendix 5.6

Interview Guide : Manager Information and Resources

What is your role within career Services?

Information

What information do you manage?

What type of information do you produce?

Who is the intended audience of this information?

How do you manage the feedback information from clients? Are there records available to me? Are clients satisfied with Career Services?

Resources

Where does Career Services source the tools used to assess clients career prospects? (ie personality tests, interests tests, career questionnaires)

Does the career Services create their own tools to be used?

How are these tools created? Who creates them?

How does the creation of the Web based system and the phone line help career services achieve its goals?

Institutional Links

What information do you provide to government?

Are you able to express your views/concerns over the way Career Services is run to achieve goals?

Are you able to express your views/concerns to government/the Board/senior management over the goals of career services?

What links do you have with other institutions:

New Zealand institutions

International institutions

Private Career Agencies.

What is the nature of these links?

Do you share information with other institutions for example:

Best practice with other government agencies or private providers about career practices?

Other New Zealand agencies?

Government?

How do you see Career Services leadership role (nationally and internationally)?

Appendix 5.7

Interview Guide: Manager of Development

What is the structure of Career Services?

Are there organisational charts representing the structure of Career Services over time?

How do you describe the structure (Flat)

How is career defined here?

How can employees have a career here?

How are employees told that they can have a career here?

How does the organisation meet the career aspirations of employees?

How do employees know what is expected of them to have a career here?

What techniques are used to help employees improve their career prospects?

Performance appraisals?

Training?

Career sessions?

Exit planning sessions?

Who is eligible for these types of career programmes?

Are you aware of changes to Career Services that has had an impact on the structure of the organisation?

Has there been changes in Career Services that have changed the working conditions of employees?

How would you described the work load of employees?

Are you aware of employees changing their life styles to maintain employment here?

What role do you in shaping Career Services to meet its mission? What type of activities does this entail? How do you know that you are successful?

Appendix 5.8

Interview Guide: Manager of Maori

What is the role of Career Services?

What are the goals of Career Services?

Why has there been such a strongly defined focus on Maori within Career Services?

Who initiated this focus on Maori?

What is the nature of the focus on Maori?

What goals have been set in relation to the nature of this focus?

How are these goals to be achieved?

What institutional relationships have been set up to facilitate the implementation of these goals?

e.g. Education institutions, WINZ, ACC

Do you think that the goals are realistic and can be achieved?

If they are achieved what are the expected outcomes for Maori?

How are potential Maori clients accessed?

What are the implications of the increasingly global labour market for Career Services client base?

Are you able to express your ideas/views/concerns over the direction of Career Services? To whom can you express these? Government/the executive/the Board?

Appendix 5.9

Information Guide for Text Material of Career Services

Information Linking Career Services with government

Are there policies or directives from government available that sets out the mission for Career Services?

How far back can we go with these policy's?

Strategic plans?

Institutional Links with other organisations

Are there documents that set out the institutional links with other organisations?

Education department

WINZ

ACC

International Career Agencies

New Zealand Private Sector Career Agencies.

Internal Organisational Material

A description of what Career Services does, and how it is structured.

Mission Statements (historical records)

Internal staffing information: gender, positions, pay scales,

Organisation charts (historic as well as contemporary ones)

Client base

Are there records to show institutional client satisfaction? How do they measure their satisfaction?

Are there records or reports to show the outcomes for individuals?

Copies of instruments used with client base (personality tests etc)

Packages used for schools?

Contextual Information

Changes to the work and income in New Zealand

Records and reports of the type of information gathered.

Annual reports

KiwiCareers Information Leaflet

Product and services booklet

A C Nielsen Research into Career Guidance Outcomes

Career Edge

Appendix six
Organisational Research Information Sheet
Department of Work and Income

Organisational Research Information Sheet

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

Contemporary career management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation. In this way, contemporary career theory and models are redefining what it means to have a career. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, the emerging definitions of career suggest that a person's career is determined by any work related experiences. A person's career may involve movements between jobs of the same rank within the same organisation, movements to new organisations, and include periods of unemployment. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of career.

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer
sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into career management processes designed to help individuals to adjust to the challenges of the contemporary work environment brought about by restructuring and for some, job loss. There are two goals of this research. First I want to investigate career management practices within an organisational context. The particular focus of this goal is to see how career management programmes help employees adjust to the demands of changing organisations. The second goal is to investigate how career management processes help individuals who are unemployed gain employment.

Research Process to Date

I am basing my research in Career Services Rapuara. This organisation is providing the site to investigate both goals of the study.

Through my time researching, I have discovered Career Services has contracts with DWI to assist claimants' return to work. I would like to gain understanding of why DWI contracts Career Services Rapuara to assist claimants back to work.

Information Requirements

The information I require is to help me gain insight from the perspective of DWI. I do not intend to request personal information of clients. The particular information that I am seeking includes:

1. Policies determining the use of Career Services Rapuara.
2. The rationale behind DWI contracting a career guidance agency to assist return to work.
3. Information about the types of services DWI contracts from Career Services and who is most likely to be sent to the various counselling sessions, workshops and courses.
4. Information or guidelines determining who is eligible for counselling sessions, workshops and courses.
5. What the desired outcomes of the sessions, workshops or courses are for DWI, and how these outcomes are measures.

6. What the desired outcomes are from the sessions, workshops and courses are for the clients, and these are measured.
7. Statistical demographic information of claimants sent Career Services Rapuara.
8. Information about what happens to claimants after counselling sessions.
9. Statistical information about the number of people on various benefits (unemployment, community wage, DPB).
10. Information about how clients are sent to Career Services and what might happen if a client refuses to go, or does not attend the session or work shop.
11. Information about the links (if any) between these sessions and benefit entitlement. For example, can a client have their benefit adjusted if they do not attend or refuse to attend?

Data Collection Process

I would like to interview someone who is able to provide the information about why DWI uses a career guidance agency to assist claimants' return to work. I would also like access to appropriate policies and statistical material that is relevant to the research.

Organisational Commitment

The estimated time frame for gathering data is one or two interview sessions, (depending on the appropriateness of the material gathered), with someone who is able to provide insight into the area of interest and is able to provide appropriate written material in the form of policy and statistical data.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of current career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Insights into how employees and the organisational clients perceive the career

management programme now in place and may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers, the organisation and the client base.

Publications and Reports

Material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation. The identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Appendix 7
Organisational Research Information Sheet
Accident Compensation Corporation

Organisational Research Information Sheet

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

Contemporary career management techniques are aimed at helping individuals plan their career, not only within the current work place, but also to help plan moves from their current work organisation. In this way, contemporary career theory and models are redefining what it means to have a career. Instead of defining career as a process of upward moves within the same organisation, the emerging definitions of career suggest that a person's career is determined by any work related experiences. A person's career may involve movements between jobs of the same rank within the same organisation, movements to new organisations, and include periods of unemployment. I am interested in seeing how career management techniques work to help people plan for this new type of career.

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer
sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into career management processes designed to help individuals to adjust to the challenges of the contemporary work environment brought about by restructuring and for some, job loss. There are two goals of this research. First I want to investigate career management practices within an organisational context. The particular focus of this goal is to see how career management programmes help employees adjust to the demands of changing organisations. The second goal is to investigate how career management processes help individuals who are unemployed gain employment.

Research Process to Date

I am basing my research in Career Services Rapuara. This organisation is providing the site to investigate both goals of the study. Through my time researching, I have discovered Career Services has contracts with ACC to assist claimants' return to work. I would like to gain understanding of why ACC contracts Career Services Rapuara to assist claimants back to work.

Information Requirements

The information I require is to help me gain insight from the perspective of ACC. I do not intend to request personal information of claimants. The particular information that I am seeking includes:

1. Policies determining the use of Career Services Rapuara.
2. The rationale behind ACC contracting a career guidance agency to assist return to work.
3. Information or guidelines determining who is eligible for counselling sessions.
4. What the desired outcomes are for career guidance sessions for ACC and their claimants.
5. Statistical demographic information of claimants sent Career Services Rapuara.
6. Information about what happens to claimants after counselling sessions.

Data Collection Process

I would like to interview someone who is able to provide the information about why ACC uses a career guidance agency to assist claimants' return to work. I would also like access to appropriate policies and statistical material that is relevant to the research.

Organisational Commitment

The estimated time frame for gathering data is one interview session with someone who is able to provide insight into the area of interest and is able to provide appropriate written material in the form of policy and statistical data.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of current career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Insights into how employees and the organisational clients perceive the career management programme now in place and may indicate ways to improve the processes that reflect the needs of workers, the organisation and the client base.

Publications and Reports

Material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation. The identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Appendix Eight
Research Overview Phase Two and Three

Organisational Research Information Sheet
Phase Two and Three

Title: Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

This research project is for my Doctoral thesis. I am the only researcher involved in the project and am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer
sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

This research project attempts to gain insight into career management processes designed to help individuals to adjust to the challenges of the contemporary work environment brought about by restructuring of the global and New Zealand economy resulting in changes to work, including job expansion and job loss for some. There are two goals for this research. First I want to investigate career management practices within an organisational context. The particular focus of this goal is to see how career management programmes help employees adjust to the demands of changing organisations. The second goal is to investigate how career management processes help individuals who are unemployed gain employment. To do this I intend to use three distinct data gathering techniques as discussed below. The phase

of my research I would like this branch of Career Services to be part of focuses on the second goal of gaining an understanding of how career guidance techniques might help people not in employment gain employment.

Data Collection Process

Data is being collected using three phases of i) background work ii) an observation of a 'typical' career management process; and iii) follow up interviews with the people who were involved in the observed situation. Different type of data and data collection techniques are used in each phase.

I have conducted the background research for this project and am ready to begin phase two and three of the data gathering phase. Each phase is discussed below.

Phase One Background Information Search: This phase was designed to gain background knowledge about the Career Services. Of particular interest was to gain an understanding of the history of the organisation and how this has led to current career management practices for the client base. The type of information sought in this phase one included reasons for setting up Career Services, how it has changed since it was set up, who the current client base is, what 'products and services' are offered, who has access to Career Services, the political implications for Career Services as a result of government change, information about the type of restructuring programmes that have occurred within Career Services and the impact these had on workers jobs and careers within Career Services, and the changing purpose and focus of the organisation.

This background material has given me insight to prepare for the second and third phase of the research – selecting appropriate situations to observe and follow up interviews.

One area that I have not covered in the background phase is to review the type of techniques used with clients. I would like to spend time with someone in this branch

reviewing the type of career techniques and tools used by Career Services. This may take a session on viewing the various techniques.

Phase Two Observation: The focus of phase two is to observe a typical situation associated with career management process with clients of the organisation. I am interested in observing situations where clients go through the 'process' of career guidance or advice. As a result of the background work I am aware of the multiple client base for example ACC clients, DWI one off session clients, Women Returning to Work clients, school groups, and 'off the street' clients. I would like to observe where possible situations that will provide insight into how the career management techniques are used with clients. It is this phase of the research that I would like to collaborate with staff about selecting appropriate situations to observe. In particular I would like collaboration on the ethical considerations involved with the different forms of situations, and in choosing what type of situation to observe given time restraints of clients, Career Services staff, and myself. Possible situations I would like to observe include:

1. a career guidance session with an ACC client
2. a career guidance session with a DWI client who is having a 'one off' session.
3. a session with the Women Returning to Work programme
4. observe a school presentation

I realise the situations I might have access to will be as much determined by client willingness to participate and what is currently being run by Career Services. I would only like to observe three or four situations at most. The situations will be described in the thesis. I would be happy to provide a debrief session with participants at the end of phase three if the participants would like this.

These observation sessions will provide insight for phase three of the research, post observation interviews.

Phase Three Interviews: I intend to follow-up the observed situations with individual interviews with the participants to gain better insight into how they felt about their involvement in the situation. These interviews will be developed as an outcome of the situational observation phase.

I would like to have an initial follow up interview after the session (the same day or within a few days of the session), and then a second interview around six weeks after the session. I envisage the interviews will last between one and two hours.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the processes of current career management techniques to base my Doctoral thesis on. Of particular interest to me is gaining insight into how employees and organisational clients perceive the career management techniques they participate in and how they contextualise these techniques within their everyday life experiences.

Participants

The research project will require participants who are willing to contribute and be part of the project. The following section briefly describes issues associated with participants in this research.

Recruitment: Participants will be invited to be a part of the research. The number of participants will be kept small, no more than eight people.

Involvement: Participant involvement will be through interviews and being observed. All participants who are interviewed or observed will be voluntarily involved. All participants will receive a 'Respondent Information Sheet' outlining the research project including, the outcome of the project, and their rights as participants. Participants will also be given a 'Consent Form' to be signed by them stating they agree to be involved in the project.

Incentives/Compulsion: The only incentive to participate will be that of being involved in a research project. There will be no compulsion for respondents to participate.

Right to Withdraw: All participants will have the right to withdraw from all or part of the research, including refusing to answer questions and requesting that part of their responses not be included in the study. To facilitate this interview transcript or descriptions of conversations will be returned to participants for their editorial comment and continued consent, or partial or complete withdrawal.

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research and where appropriate and desired by participants, a feedback session.

Publications and Reports

All the material gathered in the project will be included in the doctoral thesis except where participants have requested information be withdrawn. The doctoral research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences. A summary report will be given to the organisation and each participant. However, the identity of participants will be kept confidential in all publications and reports.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Appendix Nine

Situational Focus Research Information Sheet, Consent Form and Questionnaires

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Appendix 9.1

Participant Research Information Sheet and Consent Form

I am a student at the University of Waikato. This project is part of the research I am doing towards my doctoral degree. I am the only researcher involved in the project and am supervised by Dr Maria Humphries and Dr Paul Harris of the University of Waikato. My contact details are:

Suzette Dyer
sdyer@waikato.ac.nz
(07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Goal of the Study

Through this research project I am trying to understand how career management sessions help people to think about their employment options. I am interested in what you feel about your counselling sessions and how they relate to your life and work.

To extend my understanding of the value of career services I intend to use three distinct methods of gathering information.. First, I would like to observe a counselling session. Second I would like to conduct an interview with you immediately after the session to get your view of what went on in the session. Third, I would like to interview you six weeks after the session to talk about the session again.

Confidentiality of Participants

I will not tell anyone about what you have said in the interviews. At no time will I pass information on to other people or organisations. The information that I do gather

will be presented in my doctoral research without your name or any other way to identify you personally.

Expected Outcomes of the Research

The primary outcome of this research for me personally is to gain insight into the career services to base my Doctoral thesis on. For this part of the research I would like to understand how clients perceive the career services they have participated in and how they relate to their life.

Participation

Participation is this research is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw at any time. The following points summarise what is involved for participants.

Involvement: I will attend a career session with you to see what went on. This session will be followed by an interview that may take between one and two hours. We will have the interview at Career Services. Six weeks after the counselling session I would like to interview you again to see how relevant the interview seems to you at that time. I will ring you closer to the time to set up a time and place for this interview.

Right to Withdraw: You have the right to pull out of the research at any time. Or you can withdraw particular points or comments from the interviews. To give you a chance to think about what you have said, or that I have understood you properly, I will type up the interviews and send a copy to you for your comment. If there is anything in the interviews that you do not want included in the research I will withdraw it.

Summary of Research: Participants and the organisation will be given a summary of the research. If you would like it, we could also arrange a feedback session with the other participants (or individually) where I can explain my results.

Publications and Reports

Notes from the interview and observations will be included in my doctoral thesis but they will not be able to be linked to your specific comments. The research will be used as the basis for academic publications and conferences.

Storage of Information

All information will be stored in secure premises. No other person will know the identity of respondents. Code sheets will be kept separate from the interview and observation material. The information will be kept for up to five years and disposed of using the University of Waikato's confidential material system.

Additional Information

If at any time during the research you want more information about the process or the project please contact me on 856 2889 ext. 8096 or e-mail me at sdyer@waikato.ac.nz.

Participant Consent Form

Managing Flexibility in New Zealand through Career Management and Development Techniques

I have read the 'Research Information Sheet' for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may contact Suzette Dyer by e-mail (sdyer@waikato.ac.nz) or phone (07 – 856 2889, ext. 8096) and ask further questions.

I understand that the information gathered as a result of this research project will form the basis of a Doctoral Thesis, and will be presented in academic journal articles, and conferences. A summary sheet outlining the research and its findings will be given to management and participants. I understand the identity of respondents will be kept confidential in all written material and that information gathered will be kept in a secure place.

All data will be destroyed after five years in a secure manner.

I give approval to be included in this research project.

Participant Researcher

Signed:_____

Name: _____Suzette Dyer_____

Date: _____

Researcher's Name and Contact Information:
Suzette Dyer
Assistant Lecturer and PhD student
Department of Strategic Management & Leadership
University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105 Hamilton.
E-mail: **sdyer@waikato.ac.nz**
Phone (07) 856 2889 ext. 8096.

Appendix 9.2

Follow-up Situational Interview Schedule and Guide: Career Service Clients

Part A: Generic Thematic Questions for Unemployed Client Base

How did you define career before the session?

How did the Counsellor define career?

Did the session help you to think about career in a different way? How?

How do you define career now? Why do you see career differently now?

Have you ever had a job?

How many organisations have you worked for?

Have you been unemployed before? How often?

How did you become unemployed this time?

How were you told that you were going to loose your job?

What were the reasons given for your job loss?

What did your last employer do to help you when they announced your job would be gone?

How long have you been unemployed?

How has becoming unemployed (or not gaining work) impact upon what you think it means to have a career?

What things have you done to help regain employment (for example retrain, volunteer work, job searches)?

What impact has loosing your job had on you? (for example how has it affected yourself/your family/your income/your leisure activities).

Part B: Situational Focus Thematic Questions

How were you told that you had to attend the session?

Did you have to go?

What would happen to you if you didn't go?

What would this mean for you?

Were you interested in going? Why?

What did you hope to get out of the session?

What did you get out of it?

How hard was it for you to attend the session? (for example did you have to organise child care, transport, or being shy)

How did you feel about being involved in the session?

Have you been involved in other sessions like this one? Were they helpful?

What did you think of the tools used in the session?

Part C: Emergent Questions

Questions were asked based upon what occurred in the career guidance sessions.

Appendix 9.3

Follow-up Situational Interview Schedule and Guide: Career Service Counsellors

Part A: Generic Thematic Questions

How did this client get in touch with Career Services?

What is significant about how the client came to Career Services?

Does it mean that you approach the session differently?

How do you define career?

How do you think the client defined career?

What were the differences between each of your views on career?

How did you attempt to change the client's view of career?

Was this a 'typical' session for this client base? (explain)

Why did you choose the tools that you used?

In retrospect do you think that these tools were effective?

If yes why? If no what tools do you wish you had used instead?

What were the supposed outcomes of the session?

Who defined these outcomes?

Were these outcomes met?

If so why? If not why not?

Do you think that the sessions are able to achieve the goals of career services with regard to career counseling?

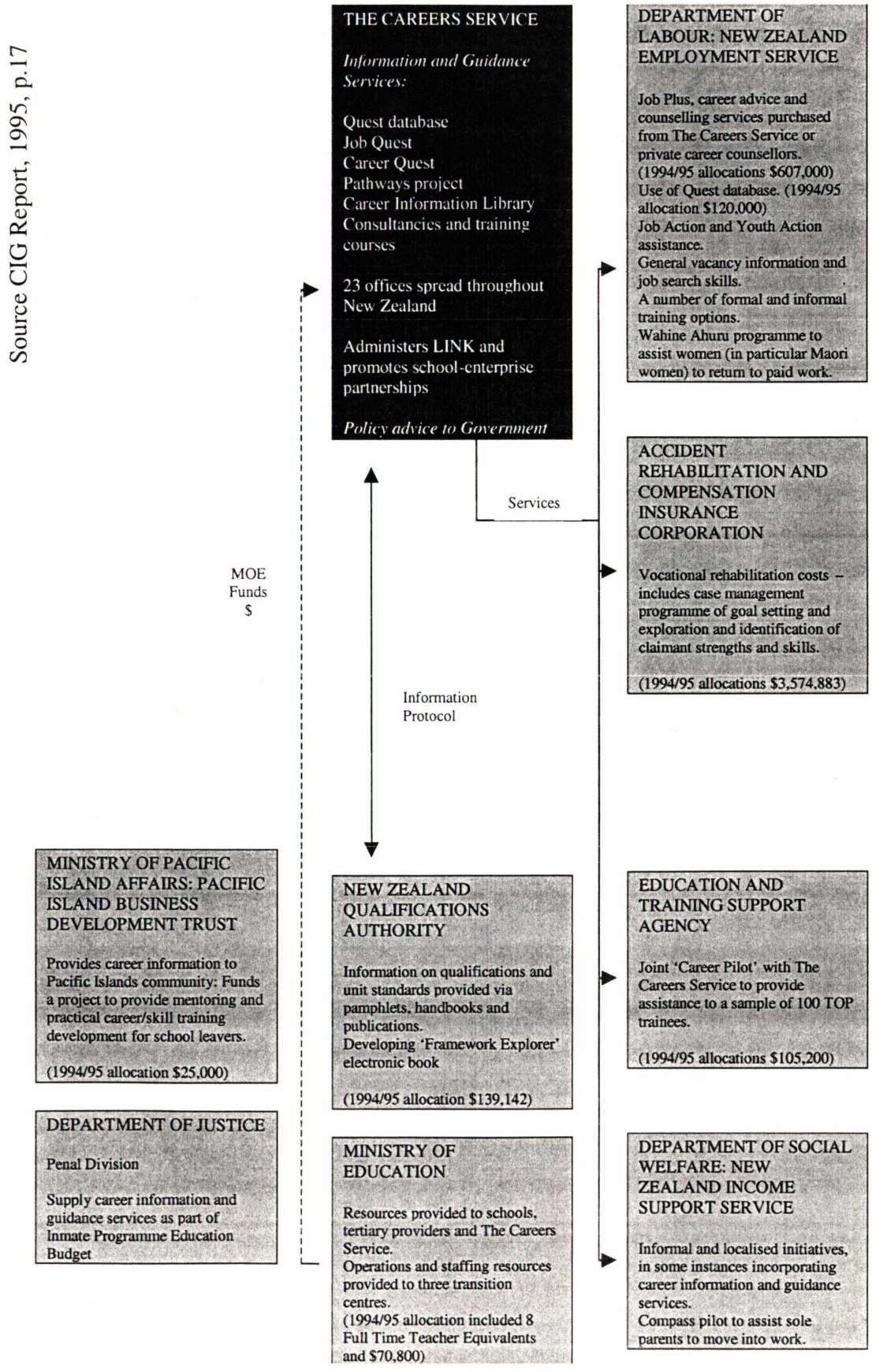
Part B: Emergent Questions

Questions were asked based upon what occurred in the career guidance sessions.

Appendix Ten

CIG Government Agency Links

Source CIG Report, 1995, p.17



Appendix Eleven

Career Services rapuara Organisational Chart

Source: Career Services rapuara, Annual Report 2000